

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1846.

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Art. I.—1. *The Proclamation of War by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope against the Caffres.* Cape Town: 31st March, 1846.

2. *The Times, Morning Chronicle, and other London Papers, of July and August, concerning the Invasion of the Cape Colony by the Caffres, in May, 1846.*

THE subject to which we are now desirous of calling attention, is calculated to excite most diversified feelings. The fearful event to which it relates has many bearings, and all of them are exceedingly important. Hordes of infuriated barbarians have turned a flourishing and rich\* settlement into a vast and smoking ruin. The vengeance of a civilized government will come next, and remorselessly crush the fellow-creature, whose better qualities might have been cultivated with good effect, if set about in earnest. A great plan of benevolence, after making for a little while remarkable progress, is signally disappointed; and its failure throws undeserved discredit upon a cause, which wants only wise guidance to insure complete success. These things would justify a tone of indignation, that might be thought unbecoming a calm inquiry, even when the calamities at the Cape are traceable to local faults, for which there is no excuse, and to a system of administration at home, abandoned even by the statesmen who have so long permitted it.

On the other hand, there is a compensation even for such calamities, in the deep attention which they will compel to the whole of South African affairs; so that indignation may well give way before the hope of better prospects, which the right use

\* The wool of the Cape, in 1845-6, exceeding 3,200,000 lbs., and of a higher price than the Australian, comes extensively from the invaded districts.

of this bitter experience opens before us. It is in the latter point of view that we shall treat the subject. The cause of humanity will be best served by marking the errors of the humane without respect of persons. Conflicting interests may be reconciled by frank concessions on every side, without the violation of any good principle. The plain description of universally admitted abuses, will recommend a reform which will render our colonial administration equal to its duties.

The present tendency of public opinion encourages efforts having just ends in view; and there are signs abroad, that the old indifference to colonies is being formally abandoned in the highest quarters, as well as on the part of the public. Mr. Macauley's declaration on the hustings at Edinburgh, that colonial interests so long postponed to 'the intrigues of faction,' are to be seriously attended to at last, and the strong expression of his desire to take a part in these new and glorious labours, are full of meaning. There is therefore reason to expect that affairs involving the well-being of hundreds of thousands of human beings, will cease to be left to the management of clerks, and be cared for by statesmen, appointed to the task, and by a parliament inclined to controul those statesmen, with a well-instructed public, capable of correcting both.

This is a great change, springing directly from the increasing notice taken of colonial affairs by the public. The time was, when a war with the aborigines in any of our colonies where they still survive, would have occasioned merely a stray sentence in a ship letter, or at the most a solitary paragraph in small type. Nor is it long since, horrors older than Christianity itself continued to be as rife and as unheeded in our settlements, as if Christianity had never been heard of; and the very same spirit which, one thousand nine hundred years ago led the polished Romans, with Cicero \* at their head—forgetting the universal philanthropy of old Terence †—to shrink from social contact with our rude forefathers; and then softening down crime with a figure of rhetoric, to call the extermination of barbarians, *peace—solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*,—this same spirit, within a short time, permitted the more polished press of London to be silent on receiving news of a like result in the purely British colony of Van Diemen's Land, although our callous government was alarmed at the act, when consummated. The despatch of the governor of the colony, with an account of his extraordinary war, and more extraordinary peace with the remnant of the aborigines, stifled in an island too small for them, to which they

\* See Cicero's Letter to Trebatius on the Britons.

† It was one hundred and fifty-nine years before our era, when the well-known line of Terence called forth a shout of applause in the theatre of Rome.



had been sent for safe custody, frightened Lord Glenelg; and he hurried off orders to stop the atrocious imprisonment, which was destroying the poor creatures at the rate of some sixty per cent. in less than a year. The colonial papers exposed the whole matter, but it attracted no attention from the London press. Again, in this very South Africa, upon which, as will presently be seen, our ablest editors can now write with abundance of eloquence, and an inconceivably small stock of correct intelligence, because fighting with savages has suddenly become almost a fashionable topic, the colonists and blacks were cutting each others throats for several years together since 1836, without a single expression of regret in any one leading article throughout the United Kingdom.

This degree of apathy has passed away; but its worst effect, and inevitable but proper punishment—*an extreme ignorance of material facts*—remains; and the very first step towards the beneficial change of colonial policy\* and colonial administration† promised us, is, to remove that ignorance, and to acquire, in its place, a competent knowledge of the leading circumstances of colonial history. How grievously this is wanted in those who have the most abundant means of knowledge at their command; and who can lavish enormous sums of money to obtain it on many occasions not more worthy of their zeal, will now be shown.

The *third* invasion of the Cape by the Caffres, not the 'first,' as the '*Times*' states, gives an apt opportunity for enlarging on this capital point of the great need of correct colonial information in London, along with several other topics, which constitute the essence of the promised reform. Nor is this point the less worth general attention because it is raised upon a question which concerns a barbarous tribe; for it deserves particular remark, that no great improvement can be made in our proceedings towards the aborigines, which will not directly promote general colonial reform. Of the 'war at the Cape,' after noticing the supineness of the government on the subject, the '*Times*' says:—

'The present outbreak of the Caffres wears a more serious aspect than any of previous occurrence. *On former occasions the country of the natives had been made the seat of war, and our own district had been protected from desolation. Now they have crossed the frontiers, and*

\* Earl Grey, the present colonial secretary, was the first to declare in the House of Commons, a disapproval of the anti-colonial policy for many years leaned to by the government.

† The late Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Goulburn, announced in the House of Commons last June, the intended remodelling of the Colonial Office.

*brought fire and sword to the very doors of the colonists. . . . The destruction of property has been enormous. The eastern districts of the colony have been actually swept by these heathen invaders, who have driven off flocks and herds by thousands, and desolated our plantations like a torrent of fire. . . . In the causes which appear to have induced or precipitated this catastrophe, it is not unlike those terrible outbreaks in Hindustan which have been occasionally consequent upon the indiscriminate zeal of our missionaries. Another item must be set down against these Exeter-Hall counsels, which have designed so much good, and effected so much mischief from VELLORE to Timbuctoo. The natives have been treated as amiable proselytes, while the colonists have been represented as godless oppressors. They have been released from a superintendence which they were compelled to respect, and subjected only to treaties, which they could not be presumed to understand. They have been indulged with independence, and supplied with copies of the Scriptures; and the result is found in their loading their guns with the types of a missionary press, and using as wadding the sheets of the New Testament translated, and printed for their special use.'—July 20, 1846.*

Upon the same subject, the 'Morning Chronicle' 'WILLINGLY publishes the following statements, in the hope that they may receive the attention they deserve. 'By what has the war been caused? Simply by the line of policy adopted by Lord Glenelg, ten years ago, at the instigation of Mr. James Stephen, and the clique of intriguing missionaries, who have long ruled at the Colonial Office. Sir Benjamin D'Urban's policy was comprehensive, just, and based on the most humane principles, whether as regards the Caffres or the colonists. Because he exposed the schemes, and would have frustrated the self-interested objects of these insidious philanthropists of the Stephen school, he was dismissed from office. Now, what has come to pass? Exactly what he predicted, and what every rational person foresaw.—July 18, 1846.'

The cause of the war is said, by the 'Times,' to have been 'a dispute between the local government and the Caffres;' and, it adds, that 'the contest has been going on since the middle of April.—July 20, 1846.'

In criticising these papers, put forth with unusual solemnity, and with a sort of official weight, by the two great leaders of public opinion, it is satisfactory to be able to divest the case of the only disagreeable personality that exists in it. It is here proposed to prove that the little facts of the 'Times' and 'Chronicle' are grossly inaccurate, and their great ones either directly false, or most illogically abused, but there is no longer any occasion to take into the account for any purpose whatever, MR. STEPHEN, who is attacked so bitterly in the 'Chronicle.' Since *his* defence against 'the injustice of the

public,' which has held him responsible for the wrong policy of the Colonial Office, he may be entirely laid aside in these discussions as an individual who has passed a long life in vainly labouring to correct the errors of other men, 'his superiors,' who would not listen to him. This is not a very uncommon thing. Its peculiarity in the instance of Mr. Stephen is, that for the thirty or forty years that he has been so employed, he has been gaining a large salary and high station for his wasted labour.

According to the 'Times' and 'Chronicle,' the calamity at the Cape may be easily accounted for. First, the Caffres are irreclaimable savages, fit only for the iron yoke, under which we had once got them, and might have kept them, for Sir Benjamin D'Urban succeeded (in 1836) in so keeping them down. Finally, the influence of the missionaries in Downing Street, prevented the system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban being permanent, and occasioned the present outbreak.

It is now proposed to show that all those propositions are opposed to well established facts, and to the most rational view of Caffre affairs; for which purpose a carefully drawn sketch of the history of those affairs since 1806 is now submitted to the reader's judgment.

These affairs are recorded to a much earlier period; but without offering any features which differ from those of a subsequent date. As the relations of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope with the Caffres, which, at the present day, are of the greatest importance to their mutual well-being, and upon which any differences of opinion prevail, may be conveniently noticed in a brief history of the Caffre frontier, it will be early enough to take up their history at our second occupation of the colony after the peace of Amiens. Many interesting events occurred upon that frontier before, both under the Dutch government, and during our first occupation of the Cape from 1795 to 1802; but for many years after our second occupation of the colony we continued the system instituted by the Dutch in regard to the natives, so that a survey of what we did in our first twelve or fourteen years possession will fairly represent the character of the earlier governments.

There is a general agreement as to the transactions of those governments on this frontier except on one fact, which ought at the first to have been scrupulously investigated; and although by the lapse of time that fact has lost most of its original importance, it may still have influence enough upon the Caffres, to demand attention even now. It is their allegation of having acquired a portion of the country within the nominal colonial boundary, by fair purchase from the right



owners, a Hottentot tribe, and with the sanction of the Dutch frontier authorities. This title is denied by our government; and it would be satisfactory to be able to ascertain its real value; which might be done without much difficulty through the records at the Cape, and those in Holland. In both places, there are collections of the highest interest, not only for the history of this colony, but in reference to the far wider subject of the relations between civilized, and uncivilized men. The first portion of those documents for the seventeenth century has been published lately by a private society at Cape Town; but there are serious omissions in the volume, which ought to be completed, and the work be brought down to the present day by the care of government.

Another fact, of a date previous to the beginning of the following sketch, is very remarkable. The principle steadily pursued for many years by the Dutch, in order to keep the peace upon the Caffre frontier was, the prohibition of intercourse between the colonists and the Caffres; notwithstanding that both wished to hold such intercourse; and that it could unquestionably have been maintained to their mutual advantage. The true reason of the prohibition seems to have been, the wish of the Dutch government to keep the monopoly of the interior cattle market for the East India Company. In an interview with the last Dutch governor, a Caffre chief warmly objected to this law. Peace is impossible, said the *savage*, where near neighbours are not allowed to come together. Nevertheless, the civilized statesman, a very able and good man, Governor Ianssens, was inexorable; and we persisted in the same policy, without being influenced by his original motives, down to about 1827.

In other respects we maintained the Dutch system of Colonial government with little change. The old Commandos were continued to a very late date. They were levies of the colonists by an inferior functionary, to pursue alleged offenders, without proper means of ascertaining the culprits; or of preventing the innocent being confounded with the guilty; or of visiting the guilty with a reasonable amount of punishment. Too often the alleged offence is believed to have been either a false alarm, or a fiction, made for the purpose of a foray. In fact, the commandos were not only a grievous burthen to the well-disposed colonist, but they produced all the evils of marauding border expeditions; and especially excited in the Caffres a violent spirit of vengeance.

Before this mischievous system of police was introduced along the whole Caffre frontier, and the old principle of non-intercourse fully enforced, a measure was resolved upon by us, which has stamped a peculiar character upon Caffre history. This was the

expulsion of those tribes whom we found in possession of large tracts of land within the boundaries of the colony. Whatever foundation there may have been for their alleged purchase of *some part* of these lands, it was clear they had intruded upon the colony far beyond that part; and had burned and destroyed many of our farms, after a succession of frightful border wars.

The Caffres, like ourselves, are a spreading people,—*not migratory*, but in a state of progress and improvement. They are a people of herdsmen; and have long possessed great numbers of cattle, without sheep or horses, until lately. They also grow some grain. But the increase of their herds, and that of their people has long led them to seek for additional lands. The country to the east, and north-east of their confined territory, being in possession of powerful and kindred tribes of the same habits with themselves, they spread to the west, where they found the comparatively weak tribes of Hottentots in possession of the soil.

Caffreland, as it is called by the Colonists, is a very small portion of the Caffraria of the maps. It is bounded towards the colony by the Great Fish River; to the north by the Winter Berg range of mountains; on the east by a line run at a short distance beyond the river Kei; and on the south by the eastern ocean, breaking in on an iron-bound coast without a single port, although full of streams of fine water. In this country they seem to have been fixed for at least a century; but the names of some of the rivers, and other circumstances, show that they must have once dispossessed Hottentot tribes of it. It may be roughly estimated at an extent of 4,000,000 of square acres. Their population is above 150,000 souls, which is far more dense than the population of the civilized Cape colony. Their correct name is, the Kosæ, or Amakosæ, by which they are distinguished from the other tribes of the great Caffre race, covering so large a portion of south-eastern Africa. The neighbours of these Caffres are the Cape Colonists, the Bushmen of the mountains, and the interior and eastern Tambookies.

The Caffres, or Amakosæ, are divided into several tribes, each having sovereign power, but acknowledging a great chief over them all, with an authority on certain occasions not very well understood by us. This great chief has a tribe of his own, and is entirely separated from the colony by several intermediate tribes. All the chiefs have hereditary councillors possessing extensive influence. Their plan of government has strong indications of reflection and progress; so, that wisely dealt with, they could not fail of becoming a civilized people.

The Caffres who had established themselves within the colonial boundaries, were a portion of these intermediate tribes. The Dutch government had in vain negotiated with them to

retire; and about the year 1811, we resolved to expel them, which was effected with much difficulty. At this period, their relations with the colonists were often friendly and mutually advantageous. They furnished good farm labourers, and many of them were in service, scattered far to the west, among the colonists. They had also placed some of their children at the school of the remarkable Dr. Vanderkemp, a Dutch missionary connected with the London society. After a sanguinary war, however, they were driven beyond the great Fish River. To do this we had formed an alliance with a powerful Caffre chief, who had not intruded upon us, Gaika, so well described in his youth by Barrow; and a rival of the intruding chiefs. He was not the great chief of the interior, acknowledged by all the Caffres as their common suzerain; yet we long persisted in the attempt to exclude all but Gaika from the right of making treaties with us. Thus we not only committed the fault of depriving *independent* tribes of a privilege of the highest value, but we did so in favour of their enemy.

The cost of this war, and the loss of life in it, were great evils; but it was far worse to throw away an opportunity of laying a deep foundation for African civilization by the improvement of the Caffre people, and by their ultimate amalgamation with us. In the place of such a prospect, we excited the worst passions of our neighbours, and threw them back into barbarism by compelling them to be plunderers for subsistence and revenge.

If the missionaries, and especially Dr. Vanderkemp, had been listened to at this period, things would have had a very different result. He warmly advocated conciliation with the Caffres; and upon a system of peace, he had planned a line of stations, from the frontiers of the Cape Colony, by Caffreland, to Natal and Delagoa Bay. He had gained a correct acquaintance with the populous region, from Dutch books unknown in other countries, and especially to our own most diligent geographers, as could be shown by curious mistakes on the subject.\* But all his unwearied appeals were vain. Whatever may be the real influence of missionaries upon the government in our days, about which the whole truth is little known; and, however they may have used the influence which they really possess, they are, at least, clear of all reproach for the course of Colonial affairs at the period in question. Even the proved and eminent services of the Moravians, and the great talents of Vanderkemp, his surprising learning, his knowledge of the world which he had in high stations in Europe, with his disinterested devotion of a good private fortune to this cause, could neither gain the confi-

\* See Pinkerton; and several articles in the 'Quarterly Review,' upon the Cape, attributed to Sir John Barrow.



dence of the government, nor shield them from the hatred of great numbers of the Colonists. Their appeals were treated with the same neglect as those of several distinguished travellers and shipwrecked seamen, whom the Caffres had treated with signal kindness. The opportunity of doing a great and good work in South Africa, was, therefore, thrown away at that time, and Caffreland became crowded with people so much the more exasperated, as, at least one-third of the tribes expelled from the colony must have been born there in the twenty-three years, during which the intruders had occupied the south-eastern districts; whereupon commenced, almost necessarily, a long series of plunderings on the part of the Caffres, and of commandos, with every kind of abuse in border police on the side of the Colonists and Cape government. After several years, in 1819, the expelled tribes very nearly surprised the principal military post on the frontier, since called Graham's Town, now the chief place of the eastern province. The Caffre hero, who roused his people to this effort, and invaded the colony to carry it into effect, was Makanna, the prophet, a man of great eloquence and talents, who, upon learning that a price was set upon his head, gave himself up, for a sacrifice, as he said, on behalf of his countrymen.

Up to this time, inglorious Caffre wars were the acts of the local authorities, with the silent sanction of the home government, undisturbed by one word of reproach from any quarter. In England, all colonial interests were absorbed in those of the French wars; and philanthropy, which, in the preceding century, was not limited by Granville Sharpe and his numerous admirers of all ranks, to race or condition, had now long been directed exclusively to the negro slave, and almost to the slave trade. The colonial press did not extend beyond the government gazette, and the bold and eloquent African travellers,\* who formerly reported to Europe the abominations practised at the Cape, had no successors. Among them was one, who, when secretary to the excellent Lord Macartney, had earned a deserved reputation for his humane and judicious semi-official book upon the Cape; but who, afterwards high in station, and in literary influence, abandoned the good cause, and became a steady assailant of its few advocates. We have before alluded to the geographical blunders of Sir John Barrow respecting South Africa; and refer with far deeper regret to his partisanship in the Quarterly Review, in favour of those who are responsible for enormous oppression in South Africa.

The formation of the British settlement in Albany by a vote of Parliament was one of the sources of a great change. The

\* Sparrman, Le Vaillant, and Barrow.

misfortunes of that settlement, combined with the reviving zeal of the philanthropists, led to the appointment of a commission of inquiry, which began a revolution in the policy of the Caffre frontier. A struggle was commenced at the same time for a free press in Cape Colony, which ended successfully, although to the great peril of all concerned, and to the ruin of one of its most honest and able champions, the late Mr. Pringle, afterwards the secretary to the Anti-slavery Society.

The result was, *the abolition of the system of non-intercourse between Caffres and colonists*. An extensive trade was therefore opened between them; and at length even the employment of the former upon the farms of the latter was again permitted, as before the expulsion of the Caffres from the colony in the war of 1811. Other beneficial changes accompanied this reform; and several years were consumed in establishing it. The official opponents in the colony were strong; and it met with so little favour in the colonial office at home, that some of its best points recommended by the commissioners of inquiry, were utterly neglected. For example: they proposed to place *civil agents* among the border tribes upon a good system,—a most admirable step, which ought to be taken *in advance* of all our settlements. Before the arrival of the commissioners of inquiry, such agencies, even on a narrow, vacillating plan, had done good. Nevertheless, this indispensable measure was not followed up until forced upon the government by the great invasion of the colony by the Caffres in 1834. Again, although the commissioners were at the Cape from 1823 to 1827, the border police by commandos (which they condemned) remained little changed long after this period; and its peculiarly mischievous character was aggravated by *our encroachments upon the Caffre country*, in a way not sufficiently guarded against by the commissioners, although they strongly declared the injustice and impolicy of such encroachments.

In fact, our own steady lawless acts respecting lands belonging to the Caffres, met with no permanent check; whilst our police against their occasional lawless acts, continued to be as mischievous as their lawless acts themselves. *These territorial encroachments*, and the fears to which they gave rise, were the first causes of the invasion of 1834, which cost the colony and England together not less than half a million sterling, in addition to other enormous evils which do not admit of a money price.

This difficulty as to land by no means stood alone. All parties were dissatisfied with the border police, and with the *fluctuations* in our border policy. The Governor at Cape Town was too far off; and he rarely had a correct know-

ledge of the wants, or grievances, either of the colonists, or of the Caffres in their new relations; or he became acquainted with them too late. So strong was the general opinion against the system in force previous to the Caffre invasion of 1834, and 1835, that the Governor of the Cape himself informed the Secretary of State of his own decided conviction that a change was indispensable. It was, therefore, in the last degree unjust to declare, as the Governor did after that invasion in a public proclamation, that the Caffres were in fault; and 'irreclaimable.' Without doubt the Caffre tribes have cattle stealers among them; and some of the chiefs, being of the same marauding habits as their people, largely share the spoil; but it is a gross calumny to call the whole Caffre people, or any one tribe, thieves, and 'irreclaimable' savages; or to deny that their chiefs have seconded our measures to suppress crime. It is surely no less our duty, than it is our interest, to admit, and so to strengthen, the good dispositions of the Caffres, and not to aggravate their vices. But by being forgetful, with the 'Times,' of the very fact of such an invasion as that of 1834, and 1835, to say nothing of the previous invasion of 1819, and of the unquestionable *main* cause of both, is to put the question of land, and especially our own territorial encroachments, out of the case altogether in our speculations, whilst with the Caffres, those encroachments on our part, and their pressing want of land, are predominant ideas. It is this that gives great importance to carelessness about *little* historical facts.

A few details upon the land case will place our steady encroachment upon the Caffres in a clear light; and this is not the time for blinking even an unpleasant truth in this quarrel. These details do not in any way concern the old pretensions of the Caffres to a title to lands within the colonial boundary.

Between that boundary, as we received it from the Dutch, at the Great Fish River, and another river further east, the Kaiskamma, lies a large tract commonly called the *Neutral*, or ceded, territory. So early as the time of General Craig, about 1796, as is recorded with becoming indignation by Sir John Barrow, the border colonists attempted to prevail upon the government to sanction their taking possession of the most desirable part of this territory towards the interior. This portion belonged to the Gaika tribe; whose right to it was undisputed. At no distant period it had been the scene of some very barbarous outrages on the part of the colonists upon the Mandanka Caffres, afterwards incorporated with the people of Gaika. The government would not hear of the design; and during many years it



was coveted to no purpose. At length, Gaika, whom we still supported against the tribes driven from the colony into Caffreland, was prevailed upon to form this tract into a *neutral* territory, or an intervening space to prevent collisions between the colonists and his people. After a short lapse of time it became convenient to a governor, more compliant than General Craig, to grant some of this neutral land as farms to colonists. For this purpose it soon acquired the character of *ceded* territory, in a series of transactions most disgraceful to the powerful civilized state, while they materially impeded the progress of a small active race of barbarians. Those transactions were, *commandos* after the old fashion, and springing from *comparatively* petty border plunderings by Caffres; over-reaching negotiation; and oppressive treaties, often broken by us as readily as they were often unfairly made. Out of these transactions, there grew up gradually in the minds even of our friend Gaika's tribe, a strong suspicion, which he is known to have shared, that we had designs upon his country. This suspicion was not a little strengthened by our forcibly expelling a powerful section of this *friendly* tribe, Macomo and his people, from their part of the neutral ground, under circumstances which could not but excite the highest degree of exasperation among them. They had a flourishing missionary station in the tribe; and might fairly be said to be the advanced post of a people capable of any degree of civilization upon the appliance of proper means for promoting it. The offences of some individuals among them, were perfectly insignificant, when compared with the burning of their villages, the ruin of their harvests, and the expulsion of their people of all ages. This violent act was followed up by similar expulsions of the same tribes from hill to hill, and stream to stream, until oppression could be borne no longer; and a frightful outbreak of all the Caffre tribes, except one, into the colony, took place in December, 1834—the *invasion* forgotten by the 'Times.'

It is no reply to this strong imputation upon the integrity of the British government, and upon the Colonial authorities, that the steady acquisition of land from the Caffres here insisted upon so broadly, is inconsistent with the known policy pursued for a long time against the extension of our colonies. Our Colonial administration on this head, has been full of inconsistencies. Such a restrictive policy has been professed—and in some spots sincerely followed. Nevertheless, in all quarters, our boundaries have been extended in part; and the real error has lain in their irregular extension without respect to the claims of humanity, or to the national interests. It has been a strong example how far the system has been a 'Chapter of Accidents.'

One of the frontier tribes, the people of Congo, Pato, and Kama, did not join the confederacy against us in 1834-5. Their lands had been more respected than those of the other tribes. The Hottentots, too, to whom we had lately granted a free settlement upon a portion of the *neutral* territory, fought on our side with the greatest courage; and in the course of the war we released several thousands of Africans, called Fingoes, strangers from the interior, whom the Caffres held as their slaves. We repelled the invaders, after great loss of property and life. Then invading Caffreland in our turn, we defeated the confederates and seized their country, which the governor of the Cape formed into a British province. The Home Government ordered its restoration to the Caffres, and re-established their independence, upon the two grounds of the conquest being unjust after a war to which they were driven by oppression, and of the inexpediency of occupying a country, the military establishment of which would cost more than it was worth.

This step has been the occasion of bitter controversy. It is alluded to in the foregoing extract from 'The Times,' in which it is said, that 'the Caffres have been released from a *superintendence which they were compelled to respect*, and subjected only to treaties which they could not be presumed to understand.' That 'superintendence' was the conquest of the country of the Caffres, after their invasion of the colony in 1834-5; and the establishment of a system of administration in the new British province in that country, eulogised in the extract from 'The Morning Chronicle' as equally beneficial to the colonists and to the natives. The eulogy assumes, of course, that there would have been no difficulty in keeping the Caffres in good order under the conquest, and without undue expense. The expectation of that result is believed, upon strong grounds, to be very far from well founded. In the first place, the facts that occurred on the frontier, before this coercive system was rescinded by orders from home, proved its extreme danger. Marauding by the Caffres had fearfully increased, and their most active men were in the woods and mountains determined indefinitely to prolong the war. This may be ascertained by thousands of living witnesses; and the Cape newspapers of the time, especially those which have the most warmly vindicated the conquest, attest it. This first effect of the conquest upon the conquered, is consistent with all experience. The bravest men among them escape to inaccessible fastnesses, where, although freedom is preserved, they are too apt to lose whatever civilization they possess. Thus, besides giving a new example of our ability to oppress the barbarian, we should have had a fresh occasion for 'enjoying the un-

enviable privilege of still further degenerating the savage.\* Happily, wise and humane counsels then prevailed at the Colonial Office. The act of the governor of the Cape against the independence of the Caffres was rescinded; but without visiting him with more than the mortification of disapproval. The parliamentary documents of the time prove, against the assertion in the 'Morning Chronicle,' that his removal from this post took place long afterwards, solely in consequence of his contumacious despatches. The secretary of state, Lord Glenelg, is entitled to the honour of this noble act, which was strenuously resisted in the Cabinet. But although Lord Glenelg decided wisely and justly *not* to keep Caffreland, the circumstances under which that wise and just decision was formed, were unfavourable to its being accompanied by the proper measures to turn the remarkable events of that period to the best account either in South Africa or in any other colony. A considerable number of books had lately been published, advocating a more humane policy towards the aborigines of the colonies. These books had attracted *some* attention, but they had failed to interest the public at large in the subject. They had only prepared the way for a proceeding in the House of Commons, which was soon to have that effect; and had exerted some influence on the minds of one or two of the half-a-dozen secretaries of state, who had ruled the colonies in the preceding half-a-dozen years.

But these earnest books, especially the poems, the African sketches, and the miscellaneous writings of the late Thomas Pringle, had by the graces of their style *begun* deeply to interest general readers in that predominant topic, the claims of the free aborigines of South Africa, the Hottentot, the Bushman, and the Caffre. Mr. Pringle had lived among them; and painted their griefs with all the vividness of truth. He was a colonist himself, and a friend of liberal colonial institutions; so that he carried many colonists along with him, although he strenuously resisted colonial prejudices. He was a man of genius, and intimately connected with the literary world here; and so brought philanthropy with the greatest effect home to the hearts of many who were capable of disseminating their *new* humane sentiments far and wide in the numerous and various channels of the press with which they were connected. Hence in the newspapers, in the annuals, and in the magazines, the same spirit *began* to prevail, which, in the last century, the early discussion of the ills of slavery stamped deeply upon our

\* These words are borrowed from the eloquent remonstrance of Captain Stokes, against the scandalous project for founding a new penal colony in North Australia.—*Discoveries in Australia*. By Captain Lort Stokes.



literature. Mr. Pringle was also secretary to the Anti-slavery Society; and this enabled him, year after year, to bring with great zeal and tact the claims of his *free Aborigines* before those who were well practised in the cause of philanthropy. As the connecting link of that cause with the literature of the country, Mr. Pringle's high merits have not been enough rewarded. To his efforts must be added those of Dr. Philip, whose volumes on South Africa produced a greater effect in a narrower circle. Himself long the energetic head of the London Society's missions in South Africa, his testimony against the enormities practised upon the native tribes, was received with its due weight by the principal missionary bodies of all denominations.

These circumstances falling in with the close of the anti-slavery struggle, by the abolition act of 1833, led the way to a movement in the House of Commons, on behalf of all the Aborigines of our colonies. In 1834, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton made his first motion for papers on the subject. In 1835, he obtained a committee which, although general, was chiefly occupied with affairs of the Caffres; and continued to sit until 1837. How much the inquiry was needed, was shown at its opening. The secretary of state for the Colonies, who joined heartily with it in eulogising the object in view, utterly despaired of the effort producing good results. He held it to be the will of providence that the *civilized* man should destroy the uncivilized with brandy and rum. Again, colony after colony was then being founded without any provision for imparting civilization to these victims of our superiority. The Swan River had just been so founded, and South Australia was about to follow in the same track. It was not foreseen, that in a very few years, indeed, 'friendly intercourse might be brought about between the Aborigines and the Colonists, and the former be advanced in civilization,' even in those unpromising regions, provided governors would take 'a deep interest in their welfare, and adopt humane and judicious measures for their improvement,' as is reported, on good authority, to have occurred at Western Australia.\*

*These grave proceedings in the House of Commons utterly failed, for reasons imperiously demanding the most attentive, and impartial consideration.* A great mass of evidence, oral and documentary, was printed on the occasion; and, in 1835, the first report of the committee of the House of Commons condemned the old system, and insisted, in plain terms, that it would be EASY to frame a better one. The witnesses, who had come from all quarters of the globe, had produced a great effect,

\* Address of the Legislative Council to Governor Hutt, on his departure for England in September, 1845.

and every sort of abuse was in danger of exposure. It was perceived, however, that more facts were wanting, before any practical conclusion could be safely formed. This conviction led to the proposal of a plan of larger inquiry by the government throughout all the colonies, which was the very wisest measure that could then have been devised. As it is by no means too late to revive this plan, which was printed in draft for the Committee, and of course exists, to show the several bearings upon the affairs of the Caffre frontier, will be a convenient illustration of its importance.

The inquiry was to have been made by commissioners, whose influence must, in several respects, have proved highly beneficial. The collection of facts would have been the least important of their labours. Even the wise measures to have been afterwards devised by the government, with the aid of their facts and opinions, would have been of secondary value, when compared with the advantage of such a mission *in preparing the minds of Colonists for a change*, to which many were already well disposed, and the success of which would be affected more by unfounded prejudices, than by bad principles.

With a little diligence, these commissioners might have been appointed in 1837. They would have been distributed, and set to work in all the colonies in 1838. Their early reports would have been soon received after personal communications with many men of experience, of all opinions, upon the spot; and the conclusions already prepared by the labours of parliament could then have been either confirmed or corrected. In places like the Caffre frontier, where action was become urgent, they could have aided at once in the execution of the measures already planned—modifying them according to circumstances, and facilitating their ready adoption by this solemn mode of carrying them out. In New Zealand, their presence would have prevented the calamities since produced by gross want of precaution. In the Australias, such missions—and such missions alone, from home, and composed of men of high intelligence,—would contribute materially to save the simplest people on earth from the hardest fate that the indifference of civilized men ever exposed such savages to. Here they would find examples of many means of elevating these poor people, which a blind and selfish government has neglected, and still continues to neglect.

In this way, the *system*, which all call for, and dispute about, would soon have been successfully framed, and adapted, with proper distinctions, to every colony in turn. All of them possess a certain number of men zealous to advance the fair interests of the natives. These individuals would be supported, and en-

couraged by the Commissioners of Inquiry, whilst the mass of the Colonists, who are usually neutral, would acquiesce in any practical plan for the general good; and the ill-disposed be kept in sufficient check. The important recommendation which is here developed, was printed by the Aborigines committee. Why it was not adopted, does not appear on the proceedings; but there were substituted for it the resolutions of the Report as they now stand in the parliamentary papers, which have been universally disapproved. The Aborigines Protection Society published a strong remonstrance against important portions of the Report: so little founded is the common imputation, that the philanthropists at that time dictated the proceedings of the Aborigines committee, and controlled the Colonial office. The report actually made is an apology for that office; and saved it from the disclosures to which the local inquiries, proposed by the rejected recommendations, must have led. It was a victory of the system of the Colonial office over the reform proposed in the first Report of the Committee of 1835, what had unquestionably responded to the genuine wishes of the philanthropists; and their grand error lay in not going much further in resisting the conclusions of the second Report.

The measures afterwards pursued on the Caffre question, partook too much of the spirit which prompted the evasion of the proposed reform. One of the objections to the old system was its unsteadiness, which made colonists and Caffres equally uncertain what to expect. This evil has not ceased. Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who made the treaties and the new system, and therefore was the best qualified to execute them, was speedily removed from the post of Lieutenant-Governor in a manner to bring both into doubt and discredit. Yet so little was he liable to reproach, that when he came to England to remonstrate against the injury, he was indemnified with a high pension, and a baronetcy, perhaps the first ever bestowed on a colonist. So efficient, too, is he now, although placed in retirement with such a pension, that in the present difficulties of the frontier he is called to a high command, to the general satisfaction. In addition to the vacillation shown in the treatment of the founder of the new system, the treaties have been materially changed twice during their brief existence of seven years. The Caffres, indeed, acquiesced in the changes made; and the governor of the Cape expressly declares that they 'fully understood' those changes; although the 'Times' rashly asserts that they could not be presumed to comprehend the originals.

Again, the agency in Caffreland has been inconveniently altered; and lately the inconceivable mistake has been made of preparing to abolish the office of lieutenant-governor of the



frontier. Such proceedings on our part must have produced the worst effect on our neighbours; but the proclamation with which the governor of the Cape set out in the present unhappy affair, betrays its real causes. It is an undeniable fact that the Caffres have been at peace with the colony since the war of 1834-5, at the close of which new treaties were made with all the tribes separately, in which one of those tribes received our warmest acknowledgments for its fidelity to its old engagements with us. Those treaties were made in 1837; and *some* of the separate chiefs have unquestionably performed their parts under them. This is distinctly stated by the frontier newspapers in the midst of the excitement of the last six months: and, at the circuit at Graham Town, in April, 1845, a petty Caffre *chief*, and two others, given up to us under the treaties, were condemned for cattle stealing. It is further certain, that in 1845, our troops were drawn off from the frontier to a great distance in order to suppress serious disturbances, when the peace of the colony was at the mercy of the Caffres, yet they respected it religiously; although marauding increased, on the withdrawal of our guards. Nevertheless, the Cape government has now made upon the whole Caffre people a war of the most formidable description, which is raging under circumstances demanding the most rigid scrutiny.

If the treaties with the Caffres, which originated in the recommendations of a committee of the House of Commons, and the returns of frontier depredations by these people, which were the subject of anxious inquiry by their committee during three sessions in 1835, 6, 7, had been printed, as was to be expected, among the parliamentary papers, together with proper documents to explain what has been doing on the Caffre frontier since 1836, it would be easy to form a correct opinion upon the grave alternatives raised by events which have occurred at the Cape.

These alternatives are;—whether the system of peace and conciliation aimed at by the House of Commons in 1837 was wisely conceived?—or whether, on the contrary, a system of coercion be indispensable to crush a ‘war party’ in Caffreland, both ‘for the protection of the colonists, and for the ultimate advantage of the Caffres themselves,’ as the Governor of the Cape declared, in a proclamation of the 31st of last March.

These questions involve another, respecting the manner in which the system of peace and conciliation actually established by the treaties of 1837, has been administered by the authorities of the Cape during the last nine years; but in the absence of all parliamentary documents respecting their administration, the proclamation of the Governor of the Cape, repub-

lished in London,\* may be safely reasoned upon, with the assistance of other intelligence. Its material passages, independently of acts of aggression by the Caffres, which it details, are as follows:—

‘I shall not dwell upon the imperfect manner in which the obligations of the treaties of 1837 were, *from the first*, fulfilled by the chiefs considered as representing the nation,—upon the extent to which depredation and plunder were practised against the colony, or upon the disposition to screen the thieves, and evade making compensation, so often manifested by certain of the chiefs. It will not be necessary for me, in this document, to go further back than the month of September, 1844, when I met the chiefs upon the question. Reluctant to have recourse to extreme measures, I proposed certain modifications of the frontier system, which were adopted by the chiefs and embodied in new treaties, *to secure increased protection against Caffre marauders* for the persons and property of the colonists. The new engagements were carefully explained and fully understood.

‘For a considerable time, the measures taken did not, in their working, disappoint the expectations I had formed. *During about eight months, depredations upon the colony in a great measure, if not altogether, ceased.* The erection of Post Victoria, the rewards promised and paid for the apprehension of criminals, and the means at the disposal of government to punish crime, combined their influence to relieve the frontier inhabitants from the harassing and vexatious system of plunder to which they had been so long exposed.

‘It was not unnatural that, in the minds of such a people as the Caffres, this restraint should tend to strengthen that party amongst them *commonly called the ‘war party,’* consisting chiefly, but not exclusively, of the young men who have reached manhood since the last war. . . . . When the duty of protecting the native tribes beyond the northern boundary required last year (1845) the temporary withdrawal of troops from the eastern frontier, depredations recommenced; which, never quite discontinued, have *recently assumed a peculiar and more audacious* character, and which, coupled with other unequivocal indications of hostile feeling, clearly evince that the party in Caffreland which prefers war with the colony to peace without plunder, has gained an unfortunate ascendancy.

‘So far as a feeling of hostility amongst the Caffres might be provoked, or palliated by even one solitary act of violence, outrage, or injustice committed *by any Colonist* in Caffreland, the Caffres are without excuse. No Caffre can charge the commission of any such act during, at all events, the last seven years. It is with pride and pleasure I make this statement, which I believe to be accurate, even to the letter.’

It is then stated, that imprudent speeches of colonists at

\* Colonial Gazette, June 6, 1846.

public meetings, exaggerating the strength of the Caffres, have encouraged the war party. And thus three causes,—1st, the growing up of young men; 2nd, the wishes of the plunderers; and 3rd, the rashness of colonists, have enabled the war party 'to win over some chiefs, of whom better expectations had been formed; have induced others in secret to attach themselves to its interests, and have set aside or overawed some other chiefs, who were honestly inclined to abide by their engagements with the colony.'

The conduct of Sandilla, the successor of Gaika, an old ally, in a serious dispute in January and February last, is then explained at length. He had agreed to the establishment of a military post by us, 'beyond the limits of the Ceded territory,'—that is to say, IN CAFFRELAND. The war-party, according to the governor, afterwards got an influence over Sandilla; and against his own deliberate act, led him to gainsay it. He, at the same time, committed breaches of the treaties, and behaved with great violence to the frontier authorities, and to some traders. This dispute however was settled, after exciting a strong expectation of war.

'Subsequently,' says the governor, 'a more peaceful message was transmitted by Sandilla, and other chiefs, and there was some reason to think that amicable relations had been re-established.'

The settlement of this dispute took place before the 9th of February last, on which day the lieutenant-governor of the frontier announced to the inhabitants, that '*there was not the slightest cause for alarm, he having received that morning, from all the chiefs of Caffreland, the most satisfactory assurance of their desire and determination to maintain peace and tranquillity among their people.*' \*

\* On this occasion the Cape papers published the following remarks and document:—

'A message, of which the subjoined is a copy, has been forwarded by the resident agent, to the lieut.-governor, and apparently justifies the conclusions come to:—

'*Message of the chief Sandilla, Xo Xo, and their respective chief men, assembled at the Tyumie residency, 7th of February, 1846,*

'TO HIS HONOUR THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR.—

'My heart is not at rest, because I could not speak to you at the meeting, in consequence of the multitude which followed me. I am sorry my people and your people have been disturbed by my rashness, but it is the first time, and I can only plead my youth in defence of my conduct. You must, therefore, not faint in warning and advising me, for you saw I beat them back, when my people pressed on us. *They had been told you would make a prisoner of me.* If I am again hasty in my words, the agent must not be in a hurry to report before he assembles my great men, and consult with them before he sends my words to you. You are the shield of my land, and war is not in my heart.



From the 9th of February to the 17th of March, nothing was done by the Caffres; but the alarm among the Colonists was not diminished. Many farmers left the frontier, and public meetings were held throughout February to urge the government 'to restrain the Caffres from future aggressions.'

The opinion upon which the governor of the Cape mainly rests his declaration of war, is thus expressed in a frontier Journal of the 20th of February:

'We have seen several letters from missionaries, that speak in unequivocal terms of the danger to be apprehended by the colony from the machinations and warlike propensities of what has, very properly, but significantly, been termed 'Young Caffreland.' The young men who have risen up since the last general irruption burn with desire to test their prowess with the colony.'

Active preparations were at the same time made by the Colonial government against the worst; and on the 17th of March an event occurred, upon which the governor of the Cape, on the 31st of March, at Cape Town, places his determination to begin the war, upon the assumption of a design on the *part of the Caffres to attack us*.

The responsibility for the dreadful events which have happened since, now depends mainly upon the correctness of the governor's views respecting that design.

'The last great outrage,' says he, 'has been of such a nature as to prove their hostility to the colony is deeply rooted and widely spread; to show beyond all further doubt or question, the point to which the chiefs and people have been for some time tending, and to make it the imperative but painful duty of the Colonial government to punish the delinquent parties in such a manner as to crush the hopes of all those in Caffreland who look forward to enrich themselves by war and plunder.'

'A Caffre who had committed a crime—not in Caffreland, but in the colony,—was apprehended at Fort Beaufort, and in the common course of law, sent to Graham's Town for trial. A number of armed Caffres burst into the colony; attacked the persons in charge of the prisoner, rescued him by force, and then cruelly murdered and mutilated a colonist, to whom the culprit had been fastened for security.'

I told my people I only came to talk with you. I swear war is not in my heart; but confusion, I hear, prevails in my country and in your country, and we sleep in the bush for fear. The colonists must go home, and not allow the drought to injure their property any more. I fell, my father, and in my message I forgot I was a chief. Sandilla, Xo Xo, Vena, Chala, Macome, Vandala, Checelas, (and thirty Amapakata Demalus)—C. L. Stretch, J. P. Diplomatic agent.

'I have appointed special pakatis to each store and shop, to convince the traders they may live in peace in my country.'

'Sandilla ✕ (his mark.)'

'This was an outrage of unprecedented but significant atrocity, and one which the chiefs of the perpetrators were bound to use every effort in their power to punish with severity. Those chiefs were—the petty chief, Tola, his immediate superior, Botman—and the paramount chief, Sandilla. To each a formal message was sent, demanding that they should take measures to secure the murderers of the colonist, and restore the prisoner rescued.

'This demand was not complied with by any of those chiefs; but denied or disputed, on the most frivolous pretexts. They say that the treaties did not require Caffres to be sent to Graham's Town for *such* thefts as that which the Caffre in question had committed, and that the Colonial magistrate did wrong in sending him. But the chiefs well know the distinction between Caffre thieves apprehended while in the colony, and those captured beyond the boundary; and know as well, that with the former the treaties have not, and never had, any concern whatever.

'Again, the chiefs say, that one of the attacking party was shot by a constable: the killing of the innocent colonist is balanced, and must not be carried further; though the chiefs well know that their countryman was killed while in the act of committing a great crime, in rescuing a prisoner out of the hands of justice, whilst the colonist was put to death without any just cause. By their conduct in this instance, connected as it obviously is with the change of circumstances already mentioned, Sandilla, Botman, and Tola, have proved themselves to be confederate with each other,—with the lawless men who broke into the Colony on the occasion referred to—with (as is upon good grounds believed) other chiefs, whose hostility has not yet made itself so openly manifest,—and with the war-party prevalent throughout Caffreland.'

Upon these grounds the governor states his conclusion as follows:

'To punish these chiefs, and their confederates, and to crush, as far as possible, the Caffre war-party in general, is the first necessity now imposed on the government. When this painful task shall have been performed, it will become my further duty to consider *by what means* additional protection may be given to the colonists and to the peaceable and well disposed among the Caffre tribes themselves.

'The mutual responsibility of the chiefs for their followers, and of the followers for *the chiefs*, as well as the necessity of dealing with the Caffres in some respects as one nation, cannot be abandoned *without depriving that people of the character of an organized community capable of entering into stipulations by treaty; and at the same time exposing the colony to evils, against which it is the duty of the government to guard.*

'I am not insensible to the difficulties connected with the present state, and *future settlement*, of the affairs of the eastern frontier; but I cherish an humble hope that I may be enabled, with the Divine assistance, to become instrumental in founding, upon the results of

hostilities not sought by us, a frontier system calculated to give additional security to the persons and properties of her Majesty's subjects inhabiting the eastern districts.'—*Cape Town*, 31st March, 1846.

It is impossible to conjecture the precise character of the new system contemplated by the governor of the Cape, in this proclamation, for the future settlement of our relations with the Caffres; but the frontier authorities had already acted with astounding decision, and with unexampled rapidity. There can be no doubt of the act of killing the poor guard of the rescued Caffre being an atrocious outrage. Accordingly, without the loss of an hour, the surrender of the parties to this act was demanded from Sandilla, with the menace of an armed invasion of Caffreland. Satisfaction was refused; and our menace retorted by the chief, with a threat to invade the colony on his part.

Previous to the 21st of March, the lieutenant-governor acquainted the people of Graham's Town, that it was his fixed determination—

'To chastise the Caffres most severely—that the period for explanation was past—and that the time had arrived for striking such a blow as might effectually secure the colony against a recurrence of the acts of violence, which for *so long a period*, says the statement cited, the Caffres had been continually committing within our boundary.'—*Graham's Town Journal*, March 21st, 1846.

This was only four days after the last outrage, on which the governor relies in his proclamation.

On the 31st of March the lieutenant-governor issued a proclamation at Graham's Town—

'Making known for the first time the name of the chiefs who had refused to give satisfaction to the government for the last outrage, and who had thus forced it into a war with them against its will. These chiefs are Sandilla, MACOMO, Botman, and Tola, and all belong to the Gaika tribes.'—*Cape Frontier Times*, April 7.

The local newspaper quoted for these facts makes very important additions:—

'It seems that the operations of the troops will be directed against these chiefs and their people; whilst the other chiefs, if they stand aloof from the contest, will not be molested. This will be the proper course. There is a case against these four chiefs, which will satisfy *the Home Government and the world*, that the war about to be commenced is a righteous one, and could not be avoided. But the case is not so clear against the other chiefs. We are not aware that any of the Slambie or Congo chiefs, with the exception of Pato, have given just cause of offence to the government. *We believe that there*



*is not a single cattle claim against these chiefs unsatisfied, and that very few robberies have been traced into their territory since the last war.*

'Eno, also, the oldest chief of Caffreland, a Gaika chief, had even on his death-bed enjoined his people not to join in hostilities against the colony.'

The same journal adds that—

'Sandilla had offered to give up the rescued prisoner, and pay for the murder; and Macomo has offered to take the oath of neutrality. Both have protested that they have no wish or intention to go to war.'

The colonial government persevered. The governor arrived on the frontier; and twelve hundred of our soldiers were marched into Caffreland on the 11th of April.

The Caffres retaliated upon the colony so furiously, as at the outset to compel most of the troops to shut themselves up in their posts, until reinforcements from all parts of the colony, to the number of twelve thousand, should arrive on the frontier. The loss of life was considerable on this occasion; the loss of property and the expense enormous. One important new post was abandoned, and the governor retired to Graham's Town.

Upon these facts, dates, and documents, with one addition, the justice of the whole case may be safely decided. Whatever details are still to arrive, cannot alter the character of what has been done. The addition referred to is a remarkably candid statement made by the lieutenant-governor of the frontier, upon a point of the greatest importance—namely, the extent to which a *war-spirit* prevails on our side, upon which topic the governor's proclamation expatiates so largely in reference to the *young Caffres*.

At a meeting with some of the principal inhabitants of Graham's Town, upon the occasion of alarm in January and February last, the lieutenant-governor, in reply to a question, said—

*'That he had never thought there existed among the frontier people, a desire of war with the Caffres; THAT NO DOUBT THERE WERE IN THE COLONY, AS ELSEWHERE, RESTLESS AND UNRULY SPIRITS WHO DESIRED WAR; but such a feeling he believed was quite opposed to the sentiments of the frontier inhabitants. In case of an outbreak, the colonists are entirely innocent of having done any thing to cause it, and I shall be ready,'* said he, *'to take the responsibility of defending them upon myself.'*—*Cape Frontier Times*, 10th February, 1846.

This admission of the existence of a *war party* in the Cape Colony—(a party bent upon war with the Caffres, and an admission made in the presence of a body of the frontier inhabitants, to whose generally pacific character the lieutenant-governor was anxious to do justice,)—is of great importance at a time when the determination of the Cape government to fight the

Caffres, in order 'to crush *their* war-party in general,' has already led to great disasters.

Deeply as these disasters are to be lamented in themselves, they are far more deserving of attention, as new proofs of the little knowledge possessed by the Cape authorities concerning the power of the Caffres to do mischief to the frontier, and as intimations of a new course of policy, which cannot fail to destroy for many years the prospect of Caffre civilization.

In these points of view a full and fair examination of the acts of the Cape government is indispensable; and that examination will show the great evil of parliament having abandoned all supervision over that government since 1837.

The lieutenant-governor of the frontier, and the governor of the Cape, concur in exonerating *the inhabitants of the frontier* of all injustice against the Caffres during the last seven years. Not 'a solitary act' of that character has been done, says the proclamation of the governor. There exists among the frontier people no desire of war with the Caffres, says the lieutenant-governor. If violent language may justly be called an act, there would be no difficulty in producing from the frontier newspapers multitudes of passages, which would establish very different conclusions respecting the writers and the readers on the frontier, even after making all proper allowance for temporary excitement. *But it is not the INHABITANTS of the colony with whom this question is to be settled.* They do not govern the colony, or determine its relation with the Caffres. Before the last invasion of 1834-5, they were amongst the most earnest to call for the reform of the old system. They suffered the most from the evils of that old system, and for its consequences the loss of life and property in that invasion. The new system has been administered by the officers of the Crown, not by the colonists: and the true question is, not what acts of violence the colonists may have committed, but whether the governor in Cape Town, and the lieutenant-governor on the frontier have done their duty wisely, since the treaties of 1837. Those treaties established a new system, under most remarkable circumstances, of which the principal was that the local government, *not the colonists*, had wronged the Caffres; and the point to be now decided is, whether the local government has again wronged them, or not. In former days, and especially against the Hottentots and Bushmen, much turned upon the conduct of individuals towards them. Of late years, and especially in the case of the Caffres, the quarrel has been a national, not an individual one; and there are several passages in the foregoing proclamation which raise a very painful impression that the governor of the Cape has taken an unfair and rash view of the cha-

racter of the Caffres, and of the national quarrel, as it now stands.

The testimony extracted above from a recent frontier journal, and given in the very heat of the present war, at its declaration, is positive, that powerful tribes of Caffres have committed 'very few robberies since the last war,' and that their chiefs have duly discharged the claims of the colonists in the few cases which have occurred. Again, Old Eno, one of the *Gaika* chiefs, or belonging to the tribe now so deeply involved as the *first* objects of our vengeance, has just died, and carried to his grave the grateful homage of the Cape frontier journals, as the firm friend to the colony; in confirmation of which testimony it deserves to be recorded that our principal officers near his village attended his burial, to the great satisfaction of his tribe. This is the case of one whose name will be familiar to those who have attended to the frontier feuds of the last forty years. A much stronger answer may be given to the governor's sweeping and unjust accusation against the Caffres as having '*from the first*' grossly broken their faith, as pledged to observe the treaties of 1837. In support of this charge he says that 'it will not be necessary in his proclamation to go further back than September 1844, when he met the chiefs on the frontier.' But the subsequent events adduced in the proclamations completely refute the portions disadvantageous to the Caffres. The governor required their consent to certain changes in the treaties of 1837. They acquiesced. Under these changes 'depredations upon the colony, in a great measure, if not altogether, ceased for above eight months.'

The means of affecting so desirable a state of things, are shown by the governor's own account to be at our own command:—

'The erection of Post Victoria (with the deliberate approval of the Caffre chiefs), the rewards promised and paid for the apprehension of criminals, and the means at the disposal of government to punish crime,' says the proclamation, 'combined their influence to relieve the frontier inhabitants from the harassing and vexatious system of plunder to which they had long been exposed.'

Strange to say, the very next year we *withdrew these safeguards*. Having pursued beyond the northern frontier, in reference to the emigrant farmers, an anti-colonizing policy, as grossly impolitic, as before the invasion of 1834-5, we had followed up an encroaching policy in Caffreland, our troops were despatched in 1845 from the eastern frontier to fight the emigrants. 'Thereupon,' says the governor, 'depredations recommenced, and they have never since ceased.'



Why one frontier is to be sacrificed in this way to another, by the removal of the ordinary *police*, it is easier to ask than to answer. It is sheer maladministration.

There is great difficulty in admitting the governor's inference, that the *war-party* in Caffreland has got uppermost, and indulges the marauding party in order to add to its own strength. As the withdrawal of the troops in 1845 produced a sufficient effect upon the Caffres, to increase enormously their disposition to cattle stealing, and there stopped, it is to be concluded, from the absence of a hostile outbreak in the colony, that a war party does not exist in Caffreland to the amount necessary to support the governor's hypothesis. The correct explanation of the state of men's feelings there, is, that as the lieutenant-governor remarked in reference to the colony, 'restless and unruly spirits, who desire war,' may be found among the Caffres; but their abstaining from an invasion of the colony in 1845, when the troops were absent, proves to demonstration either that they are not the ambitious, covetous people pretended, or that they are too ignorant to be aware when they could attack us at most advantage, which would be absurd, or that they are guided by the chivalrous feeling of not fighting with an unprepared foe, which it would be more ridiculous still to attribute to them.

So far from being eager to wage war on the colony, experience has proved that they are brought to this point with extreme difficulty. It was not until 1819 that all the eloquence of Makanna, and an indescribable amount of injury suffered from the colonial government, that the S'lambi tribes could be brought to attack Graham's Town. Again, whatever isolated cases of plunder, and even of murder may have occurred, another invasion, that of 1834-5\*, required the accumulation of eighteen years' more oppression on our part, to rouse them to acts of which many of them know well the danger.

On the present occasion they did not invade the colony, when we proclaimed war against the *whole nation*, although denouncing only three chiefs by name, but *only after we had marched an army into their country*, and exhibited strong signs of our intentions to seize some of it.

How little the governor of the Cape, who speaks thus injuriously of the Caffres, knows them, is evident from the singular fact of his having in his proclamation rebuked the colonists for

\* By one of the errors so common when gentlemen who write with ease undertake to write on topics they have only got up for a purpose, the year 1828 is selected by the 'Colonial Gazette,' of August, for another *invasion*. In that year the *Caffres and colonial troops together* fell upon a strange tribe, 290 miles from the frontier, who did not even know what our cannon were!

exaggerating the strength of the enemy, when he himself plans an expedition for the signal punishment of the same enemy, and so awfully underrates his power, that the British troops are obliged to save themselves, as they can, in the face of the savages, whose country they so rashly invaded.

But if the governor of the Cape has proved himself to be ignorant of the people's power to injure us, he is far more dangerously mistaken in supposing, that such a course of hostility as he is now pursuing, will produce lasting peace with them. Our artillery, and superior discipline, may crush the *border* Caffre tribes, but when the governor of the Cape obtains that success, at whatever cost, he will have turned their bravest spirits into mountain robbers, and they will have warm sympathizers among thousands who may submit to be our sullen slaves. To all appearance, it is a repetition of the error of 1835, aggravated by the experience of it, and under circumstances far more threatening, now that thousands of Caffres have fire-arms;—it is absolutely in principle a restoration of the old system in its most odious feature, the violent occupation of land belonging to the Caffres. Obscurely as the governor's proclamation is worded, the jealousy of the Caffres seems to have put the right construction upon it as a new attack of that kind; but they wisely offered terms rather than expose themselves to it. We had long ceased to encroach upon the Caffreland bit by bit, after the old fashion down to 1834. But we had not learned either to respect their good qualities, or to take a persevering and prudent course for the correction of their bad ones.

Our refusal to treat amicably on this occasion, after the successful negotiation of February last, betrays a state of irritation that must pervert the judgment, and lead to misfortune. In this case, the negotiations were conducted at breathless speed; and as if they were looked upon only as unavoidable, *of course belonging to a foregone conclusion*. The Caffre atrocity, an act not to be palliated, was committed on the 17th of March, and on the 21st, the announcement that negotiations had failed, is printed at Graham's Town. The war is then also publicly resolved upon on the *frontier* a week before the news reaches the governor at Cape Town. His proclamation is published there on the 31st of March, but so hastily, that a great chief, Macomo, included in the lieutenant-governor's earlier denunciations, is omitted by the governor, although hostilities were immediately directed against him along with the rest.

In this most serious question of war or peace, the proceedings on our part are not satisfactory, even according to the proclamation, and its details differ materially from the newspaper accounts. But the personal intercourse between the Caffre chiefs

and the Colonial authorities, as reported in the frontier journals, is still more unsatisfactory. For instance: last autumn, upon the occasion of the murder of a missionary, near the country of the Congo Caffres, the tribe which had long been unshaken in its friendly engagements with us, and remarkable for its freedom from plundering, the lieutenant-governor took active steps towards punishing the murderers. For this purpose he assembled several chiefs, when turning to Kama, Umkye, and Pato, he said, addressing himself to Pato, who belonged to that friendly tribe, and pointing to the others, 'These two chiefs I have confidence in; in you, Pato, I have none. Let, then, the murderers be produced, or expect the consequences.'

Pato was about to reply, but the lieutenant-governor prevented him by saying; 'No, I want no talking, go instantly and find the murderers.'

Pato replied, 'Only one word, let me speak—I will try and find them.'

Umkye, then addressing Pato, said, 'Be diligent in this matter; begin with this very sun to seek for the culprits, or you are a ruined man.'—(*Graham's Town Journal*, 4th December.)

Such is the character of our first frontier magistrate's diplomatic call upon a Caffre chief. What sort of social reception these chiefs receive at an advanced post may be inferred from the following account of a visit from the heads of the well-tryed Congo tribe. 'One day,' says the writer, 'while we were sitting at dinner, with the door opening upon the verandah, Cobus Congo walked in. On that day, as it was HIS FIRST VISIT, we did not turn him out, but we resolved on not following the foolish custom of permitting the Caffres to take liberties with us, which are not suffered among themselves. Old Pato, with his panther eyes, came up to the door, begging as usual; and when they had obtained the tobacco, we gave them to get rid of them, off they walked, thinking us great fools for our pains.'—(*Graham's Town Journal*, April, 1845. No. 690.)

It is little surprising that the men who are so treated, should be found in the ranks of our enemies in 1846; and but stronger reproaches can be made upon the manner in which the new system of civilization has been administered during the last few years, than the simple statement of the fact, that our tried friends have at length become our enemies, and that those who from being enemies were made our friends by a resolute act of indemnity being done by us in their behalf, have been driven again into an invasion by our irrational and violent treatment of them.

The PHILANTHROPISTS are much to be blamed for their share in the impolicy which has brought the native affairs of the Cape



colony to this issue ; and they have great errors of their own to repair in regard to the whole interior of South Africa ; but, above all, in regard to the latter frontier.

From 1834 to 1837, the philanthropists, represented by Sir T. F. Buxton, powerfully denounced the evils of the old system of the frontier ; and they were joined in this by numerous parties who did not enrol themselves in their body. They succeeded in their efforts to overturn that old system. They had both Houses of Parliament entirely with them ; and the ministers, without partaking their convictions, were disposed to receive from their hands, any rational, well urged plan of reform. The government was even so ductile, that, at their wish, it adopted the melancholy mistake of the Niger expedition, and was prepared to adopt, besides, all the ulterior schemes for Eastern Africa, belonging to the principle of the Niger expedition. Happily, the fevers of the West Coast of Africa stopped the application of that principle at its outset, or it is difficult to say to what extreme lengths, and with what fatal results, that error would not have been carried, with the prodigious influence then enjoyed by the philanthropists.

The sources of that influence were of a lasting character, and it will revive, if the measures now devised to meet the evils caused by our errors, be wise and prompt. The abolition of Negro slavery, with all its difficulties, has secured the approval even of those whose interests it attacked ; and it cannot be the only grand work of humanity that civilized men can accomplish. To reconcile the spread of our colonies, with the rights of the Aborigines of the countries which we are settling ; and to enable those Aborigines to share the improvements with which we are fast filling the earth, ought to be attempted in earnest ; and with that intelligence which alone can make great designs prosper.

Hitherto the philanthropists have submitted to be almost as much in the dark in these affairs, as the ministers, parliament, and the public. The first step to be taken is to make a grand effort to bring forward in parliament a full analysis of all that in South Africa and elsewhere materially affects the natives in their relation with us. The reform introduced upon the Caffre frontier in 1837 established peace, which has been unbroken for nine years, and, as has been stated, by a vigorous administration, it put a stop entirely even to depredation. The governor of the Cape is positive, that in 1844, that effect was produced for *eight* months all over Caffreland, and some of the tribes have been reasonably free of offence for the whole period since 1837. It would be wise to have all the facts of the case displayed, so as to be able to see why this temporary and partial success has

been interrupted, and why it has not gone further. The philanthropists, after setting up this system, ought not to have turned their backs upon it. If the commissions of local inquiry proposed in the printed draft for the committee of 1837, had not been abandoned, it is impossible that the failure which is now afflicting us could have occurred.

The philanthropists have treated the missionaries, to whom so much good is owing, with a double injustice. They have endeavoured to set them up as political agents *abroad*, and they have, themselves, abstained *at home* from insisting upon those political and official reforms, without which, the labours of the missionaries, in their proper spheres, must be perpetually disappointed. No where has experience proved these remarks to be sound, more decisively than in South Africa; and no where will it be more becoming for them to review with care the advice they have given, the acts they have approved, and the neglect they have overlooked, and then to insist with zeal upon a really humane policy being pursued there in future, in the place of what the governor of the Cape has so rashly planned at the expense of this *third* invasion of a noble British colony. To govern the Caffre frontier with success, we must require that the Caffres be treated like rational beings, that its administration be conducted upon principles of common humanity; and that ministers, and parliament, and the public, shall be in a condition to judge correctly whether such principles are respected, by care being taken to make the facts known, instead of their remaining for nine years a colonial secret.

Then, and then only, will the London newspapers deal with the subject with common sense, instead of speculating as they do now upon mere fictions. To the 'Times' and 'Morning Chronicle,' it will be sufficient on this point to add the 'Colonial Gazette,' to whose fair extracts from the Cape journals, we are indebted for the illustrations here attempted to be as fairly used in support of views the very reverse of those in that able journal.

The writer of an article of the 8th of August last, on the Caffre war, pretends to extraordinary minuteness of information on the subject of the Caffres; but jumbles things sadly together. He talks boldly of their invasion of Cape Colony in 1828, although no such event occurred in that year, nor for eight years before, nor six years afterwards. He talks in the same bold way of all the invasions of the colony by the Caffres having been the fruits of their marauding spirit, as if they had never been impelled to those invasions by the wrongs they had suffered. He talks of the defensive boundary line of the Cape government, in 1835, after conquering Caffreland, although it



is notorious, that even when flushed by victory, we found our new province precarious from its enormous expense. He imputes to Lord Glenelg, who brought peace into Caffreland, and the colony too, that he 'left the Caffres unwatched, and forbade the colonists to defend themselves,' both things utterly untrue. He asserts that the emigration of the Dutch Boers into the interior was the consequence of the change in the frontier system, whereas it is certain that it was taking place even *before* the Caffre war. He finally attributes the colonizing of Natal to the Dutch, and that of the whole interior to the despotism of Downing-street, whereas it is the English who colonized Natal twelve years before the Dutch came thither; and both that fine country, and the interior, must have been ten times more extensively colonized than they are now, but for Downing-street despotism and folly.

Two columns of a newspaper never before contained so many gross errors in facts, or wilder speculations upon the proper way to extend the British name and fame. Nevertheless, a broad truth is declared at their close.

'Missionaries, of various European tongues,' says the 'Colonial Gazette,' 'are dotting the interior with European influence. The limits of English influence in South Africa are the Portuguese southern frontiers on both sides of the Continent. That vast region is to all intents and purposes a British colony; and it is our duty to see, that it is as efficiently governed as circumstances admit. British supremacy alone can establish, and preserve peace among the hostile natives, the missionaries, and their flock, the British squatters of the Dutch race, the English traders who yearly visit the interior, the daring 'Bastards.' It is a heavy task, but we can no longer refuse it,'—*Colonial Gazette, August 8, 1846.*

Admirably said, and perfectly true. But so British supremacy prevails in all New Holland, and New Zealand now, as it has done in pretty nearly all North America these hundred and fifty years. The foreign civilized powers have never dared deny it. Nevertheless, a principle of our own law—distinctly recognised by the law of nations, and founded upon the law of nature, imposes upon us a clear duty in the exercise of our supremacy in all these countries—to respect the independence of the uncivilized tribes we find there, and obtain their *consent* to our colonization among them, and their amalgamation with us.

Happily their *consent* can be obtained for all that is needful to their and our mutual good; and their civilization, and ultimate amalgamation, with us can be secured by a wise and humane policy on our part, without resorting either to their separation from civilized society, which some of the philanthropists ask for, or to their subjugation by brute force, which the 'Times,'



and the other journals, so rashly advocate. Here, as in so many other cases, safety lies between extreme opinions either way;\* and the high personal character of the two chief members of the Cape government, the governor and the lieutenant-governor, only increases the danger of error either way in the Caffre case.

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Art. II.—*A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.* Edited by John Kitto, D.D., F.S.A., Editor of 'The Pictorial Bible,' Author of the 'History and Physical Geography of Palestine,' etc. etc. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes 8vo. Pp. xx. 884, 996. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh. 1845.

WE have now before us a work which will long be referred to, as a monument not merely of the zeal, but of the progress of the age in biblical archæology. With one exception, which we shall notice presently, it has as certainly annihilated the authority and continued use of previous bible dictionaries in this country, as Gesenius's 'Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch,' published in 1810-12, did those of its German predecessors in the same department. It is intensely gratifying to see the ardour with which, at the present period, all useful contributions to our knowledge of the Holy Scriptures are gathered and arranged for general use, and still more so, if possible, to observe the indications which exist of the progressive influence and success of such undertakings. We would not, indeed, despise the books from which we obtained our first information respecting biblical antiquities, because they have had their day. Calmet, and the various abridgments which have appeared of him, taught us much that we were glad to know, and were often useful when immediate information was needed on some points of biblical history or archæology which occurred in our reading. But it must be averred that a very long time had elapsed since Calmet's learned collections were made, and that a great winnowing was

\* The true policy for the Caffre frontier; and the only one that will subdue the Caffres, has just been announced in an able article in the 'New Zealand Journal' (15th August, 1846), entitled *Moral Revolution*. It is there shown triumphantly, that *force* is not the power that rules the world; and that there is a great power in *moral force*. Let the principle be applied to the Cape of Good Hope, with a competent knowledge of facts, and a due estimate of men, and in a very few years, indeed, the South African revolution will equal the great social changes of which modern times can offer examples in other quarters of the globe.

necessary to separate the husk from the grain. Such a winnowing is one of the objects of the present work. Another is to supply the results of the most recent investigation into nearly every department of biblical literature. With what success these objects have been accomplished, those only can adequately ascertain who carefully peruse the volumes. Such help as our narrow limits afford for the same purpose shall now be at our readers' service.

Dr. Winer has in the preface to his 'Biblisches Realwörterbuch' (first published at Leipzig in 1820, and afterwards much enlarged in 1833-38), while giving his reasons for the form of his own works, sufficiently set forth the character and peculiar uses of illustrative biblical dictionaries in general. 'A manual,' he says, 'of the real, historical, geographical, archæological, and physical knowledge which is necessary to the understanding of the biblical records, may be arranged either in systematic, or in alphabetical order. The first form has been recommended as the preferable one in aid of studies *preparatory* to the study of the Bible; the latter as an *accompaniment* to that study. I chose the latter, because the need of assistance in the actual perusal of the sacred writings appeared to be both more general and more pressing, from the fact that systematic manuals and treatises upon the disciplines auxiliary to exegesis, whether general or particular, are read by few with unvarying attention, while the use of them for the illustration of particular points or passages is very inconvenient.' Indeed there cannot be a question as to the value of lexicons of this description. To whatever extent systematic treatises on the subject may be multiplied, or with whatever ability they may be written, they can never supersede the necessity, even to the advanced student, of works in which the information necessary to illustrate the obscurer points of biblical literature is arranged, for easy reference, in alphabetical order.

The work before us is remarkably varied, and ample in its information. While it avoids all topics connected with doctrinal theology and church history—topics so frequently admitted of late into biblical and theological dictionaries—it is unusually full on subjects purely archæological, on the physical history of the bible, and on the discipline which bears the awkward name of biblical introduction. The editor's preface contains a short but pregnant essay, prepared for it by Dr. Credner, of Giessen, on Biblical and Theological Encyclopædia, in which the topics admissible into a work like the present are succinctly explained, and distinguished from such as, though related, are in reality foreign to its object. Few of those who consult it will complain, we think, that its range is

deficient, or that it disappoints the expectations raised by its comprehensive title.

Forty scholars, British and Foreign, besides the editor, have contributed to these volumes. It is superfluous to say, that their articles are of various degrees of merit; the same is true even in respect to different articles of the same writer. It would be invidious to distinguish here the names of any of the British contributors; but we may, without offence to them, inform our readers that Dr. Credner of Giessen, Dr. Ewald of Tübingen, the late Professor Hävernicks of Königsberg, Dr. Hengstenberg, and the Rev. I. Jacobi of Berlin, and Dr. Tholuck of Halle, have enriched the work with their communications. Dr. Kitto justly congratulates himself on this fact. When he says, indeed, 'It is believed that the English language has no other book which eminent foreign scholars have co-operated with our own in producing,' he obviously goes too far. To name no others, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Archæological Dictionaries* edited by Dr. W. Smith, (the first of which evidently suggested the idea and form of the present work,) and the *Penny Cyclopædia*, all admitted articles by distinguished foreign scholars. Nor, when we remember Adam's '*Religious World*,' and other books which we could mention, do we consider Dr. Kitto justified in adding; 'It is certain that it possesses no other work which embodies the combined labours of writers who, indeed, are of different communions here, and are known by different names among men, but who have the same hope in this world, and but one name in heaven.' There is something *de trop* in this exclusive claim: still we must and do cheerfully concede to the learned and truly catholic editor, that he has procured for this cyclopædia a richer combination of native and foreign talent, and a richer manifestation of true catholicity, than are exhibited by any one work we are acquainted with in this or any other language.

Before submitting to our readers any specimens from the '*Cyclopædia*' itself, we shall avail ourselves of a few lines from Dr. Kitto's preface, in which he characterizes, with all propriety as we conceive, some important recommendatory features of the work.

'The editor cannot but regard with peculiar satisfaction the ample references to books which occur in almost every article, and which indicate to the reader the means of more extensive inquiry into the various subjects which have been noticed with indispensable brevity in this work. The numerous references to Scripture will greatly assist its chief use and design—the illustration of the sacred volume. It is believed that the articles in the departments of biblical introduction and criticism, embrace a body of information respecting the



books of scripture and sacred criticism, such as no work of the kind in any language has hitherto contained. The natural history of scripture has now, for the first time, been examined, and, as far as possible, settled—not by mere scholars ignorant of natural history, but by naturalists of acknowledged eminence. The scripture geography has, by the help of Dr. Robinson's invaluable 'Biblical Researches in Palestine,' and of other publications less known in this country, assumed in the present work a greatly altered and much more distinct aspect. The archæological articles exhibit a strength of illustration and research which will tend greatly to elucidate the obscurities which the subjects necessarily involve. The history has been discussed under the influence of those broad principles which constitute its philosophy; and in this, as well as in the biography, it has not been forgotten that, while actions are always to be judged by the immutable standard of right and wrong which the word of God has established, the judgments which we pass upon men must be qualified by considerations of age, country, situation, and other incidental circumstances.'—*Preface*, p. xx.

The reader will agree with Dr. Kitto, that a combination of articles of which he could speak in these terms was enough to satisfy him. We have quoted the preceding extract, not merely for the purpose of repeating encomiums which we believe to be extensively warranted, but also, that we might convey in his own language a view of what the editor must have proposed to himself, as a proper fulfilment of his comprehensive design. In selecting some specimens of the 'Cyclopædia' for our readers' further information, we shall follow the order of subjects indicated in that extract.

The topic first instanced is 'Biblical Introduction and Criticism.' Belonging to this branch there is a very large number of interesting and valuable articles. On the Pentateuch and its five component parts there are six articles, by the late Professor Hävernicks, comprising in the whole thirty-five columns, which are equal to more than fifty well filled octavo pages. The same writer has also contributed ten columns on the life and writings of Daniel. The quality of these articles will not be questioned by those who are acquainted with the author's excellent volume on Daniel, published in 1832, or his more recent (though unhappily unfinished) Introduction to the Old Testament, or Commentary on Ezekiel. The article on Joshua, comprising both the book and the personal history of the great leader so called, is contributed by the editor, who also furnished a short paper on Malachi. To Dr. Hengstenberg, of Berlin, the Cyclopædia is indebted—for so we may justly say—for an elaborate piece on Job of twenty-one columns, or thirty well filled octavo pages, another on Ecclesiastes of six and

a-half pages, and a third on Isaiah of thirty-four columns, or about fifty pages. Dr. Davidson, of Manchester, has contributed the article on Chronicles, and another very elaborate one on the Apocalypse. On the New Testament, Dr. Tholuck has supplied seven articles, all worthy of his distinguished name.\* One on the Gospels generally, one on each of the four Gospels, one on the Epistles generally, and one on the Epistle to the Romans. The articles on Acts and the Pauline epistles, (excepting Romans) which are the fruit of extensive reading and written with great care, are from the pen of Dr. Lindsay Alexander. Dr. Wright, the translator of Seiler's Hermeneutics, has furnished four upon the Catholic epistles. The same gentleman also supplied the papers on the Canticles, Obadiah, and Micah. The remaining papers on the Old Testament were furnished by Dr. John Eadie, Mr. Gotch, Dr. Benjamin Davies, Mr. J. E. Ryland, Dr. Baur, of Giessen, Dr. Ewald, of Tübingen, and another writer whose initials only are given. In addition to these are articles on the Samaritan Pentateuch, and Syriac versions, by Dr. Davidson.

The great extent to which biblical introduction, especially that of the New Testament, has been recently treated in our journal, renders it both unnecessary and undesirable that we should quote from any of the articles which have been mentioned. The detail which we have gone into, brief as it is, will be enough to show how erudite and masterly the work must be in the department under review. There is, however, an article on an allied topic which we cannot so hastily pass over. Some of our readers may have a tolerably accurate recollection of a paper on the 'Nature of Prophecy,' translated from Dr. Hengstenberg's *Christologie des A. T.* which was inserted in the American Biblical Repository for 1832; and none of them who are acquainted with the *Christologie*, in the original, will have forgotten the avowal contained in the preface to the third volume, of a change in the author's views on the nature of prophecy, which, however, he did not explain, but left to be ascertained from the discrepancies between the third volume and its predecessors.† All this gives a peculiar interest to any thing recently

\* That on the Epistles is very general, and, not requiring any discussion of equal interest to that on the *Protevangelium*, see Art. GOSPELS, is necessarily brief. We noticed one statement which we believe not all Dr. Tholuck's learning could substantiate. Paul's letters 'conclude,' he says, 'with the epistles to the two bishops and a private letter to Philemon.'

† His words are: 'many an expression in the first volume, is corrected in the following, often silently. The difference, indeed, extends further than to particulars, and beyond all the lower department of linguistic. It appears throughout in the fundamental view of the nature of prophecy, on which subject the author, who has become more and more familiar with the

written on the subject of prophecy by Dr. Hengstenberg, and, accordingly, we were highly pleased to find an article of fifteen columns from his pen devoted to that subject in the present work. We are compelled, however, to say, that we have failed to discover from this article in what respect his earlier views have been corrected, and that the article is in other respects obscure, and unsatisfactory. Dr. Hengstenberg, when he first explicitly developed his theory of the 'Nature of Prophecy,' in 1829, laid very great stress upon the notion that the Old Testament prophets were, at the time of inspiration, invariably in an ecstasy, by which they were deprived of their natural consciousness, and saw in vision only. This supernatural extatic vision he considered, from Numbers xii. 5—8, to be the essential and characteristic condition of prophetic inspiration, and declared that he must dwell the longer on it, 'because the true explanation and defence of numerous Messianic passages rested on a correct theory of prophecy.' As already intimated, he announced in December, 1834, an entire change in his fundamental view on the nature of prophecy, yet the following is the substance of his theory as now communicated to the public.

'1. *The nature of Prophecy, &c* —The view commonly taken of the prophets is, that they were mere predictors of future events, but this view is one-sided and too narrow, though, on the other hand, we must beware of expanding too much the acceptance of the term prophet. Not to mention those who, like Hendewerk, in the introduction to his *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, identify the notion of a prophet with that of an honest and pious man, the conception of those is likewise too wide who place the essential feature of a prophet in his divine inspiration. That this does not meet the whole subject, appears from Num. xii. 6, *seq.*, where Moses, who enjoyed divine inspiration in the highest grade, is represented as differing from those called prophets in a stricter sense, and as standing in contrast with them. Divine inspiration is only the general basis of the prophetic office, to which two more elements must be added:—

'Inspiration was imparted to the prophets in a *peculiar form*. This appears decisively from the passage in Numbers above cited, which states it as characteristic of the prophet, that he obtained divine inspiration in visions and dreams, consequently in a state extraordinary and distinguished from the general one. This mode was different from that in which inspirations were conveyed to Moses and the apostles. The same thing is shown by the names usually given to the prophets, viz., *רוֹאֵה* and *חֹזֵה* seers, and from this, that all prophecies which have come down to us, have a poetical charac-

prophetic writings, has more recently attained to greater clearness. Precisely in reference to this most important alteration, however, will it be easy to the intelligent reader, to supplement the earlier representation from the later ones.' *Christologie*, vol. iii. Preface.



ter, which points to an infinite affinity between prophecy and poetry, a subject further illustrated by Steinbeck, in his work *Der Dichter ein Seher*, Leipzig, 1830; though the materials which he gives are not sufficiently digested. The prophetic style differs from that of books properly called poetical, whose sublimity it all but outvies, only in being less restrained by those external forms which distinguish poetical language from prose, and in introducing more frequently than prose does, plays upon words and thoughts. This peculiarity may be explained by the practical tendency of prophetic addresses, which avoid all that is unintelligible, and studiously introduce what is best calculated for the moment to strike the hearers. The same appears from many other circumstances, *e. g.*, the union of music with prophesying; the demeanour of Saul when among the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5); Balaam's description of himself (Num. xxiv. 3) as a man whose eyes were opened, who saw the vision of the Almighty, and heard the words of God; the established phraseology to denote the inspiring impulse, *viz.*, 'the hand of the Lord was strong upon him' (Ezek. iii. 14; compare Isa. viii. 11; 2 Kings, iii. 15), etc. All these facts prove that there essentially belonged to prophecy a state of mind worked up—a state of being beside one's self—an ecstatic transport, in which ideas were immediately imparted from Heaven. Acute remarks on the subject will be found in the works of No alis (vol. ii. p. 472, *seq.*), from which we give the following passage: 'It is a most arbitrary prejudice to suppose that to man is denied the power of going out of himself, of being endued with a consciousness beyond the sphere of sense: he may at any moment place himself beyond the reach of sense (*ein übersinnliches Wesenseyn*), else he would be a mere brute, not a rational freeman of the universe. There are indeed degrees in the aptitude for revelations; one is more qualified for them than another, and certain dispositions are peculiarly capable of receiving such revelations; besides, on account of the pressure of sensible objects on the mind, it is in this state difficult to preserve self-possession. Nevertheless, there are such states of mind in which its powers are strengthened, and, so to speak, armed.' The state of ecstasy, though ranking high above the ordinary sensual existence, is still not the highest, as appears from Numbers xii., and the example of Christ, whom we never find in an ecstatic state. To the prophets, however, it was indispensable, on account of the frailty of themselves and the people. The forcible working upon them by the Spirit of God would not have been required, if their general life had already been altogether holy; for which reason we also find ecstasy to manifest itself the stronger the more the general life was ungodly; as, for instance, in Balaam, when the Spirit of God was upon him (Numbers xxiv. 4, 16), and in Saul, who throws himself on the ground, tearing his clothes from his body. With a prophet whose spiritual attainments were those of an Isaiah, such results are not to be expected. As regards the people, their spiritual obtuseness must be considered as very great, to have rendered necessary such vehement excitations as the addresses of the prophets caused.—*Art. Prophecy*, vol. ii. pp. 561-2.

Here, so far as we can see, Dr. Hengstenberg retains all that was peculiar in his earlier view on the subject. It is true he does not draw out the consequences of his theory so explicitly as in his original chapter, but the omission implies no change in reference to those consequences. If the prophets received the communications of Jehovah in visions only, and therefore by images or pictures, it would still follow that they saw things as if present, and without any exact discrimination of time, and that this would account for the intermingling of different subjects in the same oracle without any note, or evincing that they were so intermingled. It would explain, as Dr. Hengstenberg had before shown, the want of precision in the use of the tenses which is obvious in prophetic oracles, and the fact noticed so particularly in 1 Pet. i. 11, that the prophets, except in the instances where they were informed by special Divine revelation, were ignorant of the time when their predictions would be fulfilled. It is obvious, therefore, that though Dr. Hengstenberg has not dwelt on these consequences in the article before us, it is not in them that we are to look for any change of view if he adheres to his exclusive theory of ecstatic vision; and this being the case, we must own that we are still in the dark as to the change which has passed over his mind on the subject, and should have been pleased to have received, what we think was always due to his readers, more explicit information.

In our judgment, Dr. Hengstenberg's leading error lay, and still seems to lie, in overlooking the variety which certainly existed in the forms of prophetic inspiration. In his original chapter, he says, after unfolding his theory of ecstatic vision, 'this peculiar character of prophecy has not been *entirely* undetected by most expositors. Still they have for the most part assigned it to those prophetic passages only in which it reveals itself with special evidence, such as Isaiah, chap. vi., Ezekiel, chap. i., the first part of Zechariah, and the second of Daniel, which, therefore, have exclusively been designated Visions. But the distinction between these prophecies and others is an insecure one. The arguments which have been produced apply *equally to all* prophecies; and even in the latter, when the details are rightly conceived, indications of vision disclose themselves in ample quantity.' Now, had Dr. Hengstenberg merely declared that a careful examination of their details would prove that a much larger number of prophecies than had been usually regarded as visions,—perhaps a large majority of them,—had been communicated in the form of pictorial vision, we should have seen no reason to dispute his assertion. It probably is so. But we cannot admit that inspiration by vision is the exclusive or essential characteristic of Old Testament prophecy, or that whenever such a vision was disclosed to any prophet, he



was in a supernatural ecstasy, divested of intelligent consciousness, till he had imparted the burden of it in words to those for whom it was intended. That the latter was not the fact would appear—to name no other instances—from the communication which Micaiah held with Ahab, when he delivered his oracle respecting him, in 1 Kings xxii.; and from the history of Jonah. The former, though it may be inferred from Numbers xii. 5—8, (which, however, we should interpret as declaring a general, rather than an absolutely universal rule), is not only inconsistent with the characteristics of prophetic inspiration under the New Testament, which may be presumed to have been similar, but also with the contents of some of the Old Testament oracles. There is, at least, a great number of Old Testament prophecies, the subject matter of which cannot be represented in a visionary form, and in which, therefore, vision could have no place, unless we suppose that in every instance of prophetic inspiration the prophet saw Jehovah, and heard him, in vision, utter the words which he is required to speak in his name to the people. But this seems too large an inference from the passage in Numbers xii., even if we had not the analogical light of New Testament inspiration, suggesting the contrary. We are told, 2 Peter, i. 21, that holy men of God had spoken as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, which seems to imply a power working in them, similar to that which moved the writers of the New Testament, who ordinarily had no inspiring vision.

But what, our readers will in all probability have asked before this, is the meaning of the passage which Dr. Hengstenberg has quoted from Novalis? Does he mean that any man may at any moment 'go out of himself,' or 'place himself beyond the reach of sense'? We certainly know of one way in which any man may do the latter, which is, by writing or talking nonsense. And we know not which is greater nonsense,—what Novalis there asserts, or the application made of a thing which, he says, any 'man may at any moment do' to the supernaturally inspired condition of the prophets.

Dr. Hengstenberg's article on prophesy, however, notwithstanding these exceptions, and some others which it would be easy to make to it,\* contains many valuable remarks. What he has written on the prophets' manner of life, though not new, is good. Equally good is what he has written respecting their

\* As, e. g., where he states, that 'before a man could be a prophet, he must be converted,' with which compare Matt. vii. 22; and adds, in confirmation, 'for a single momentary inspiration the mere beginning of spiritual life sufficed, as instanced in Balaam and Saul,' with which compare 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, and Jude 11.



symbolical actions—the criteria by which true and false prophets were distinguished, and the promulgation of the prophetic declarations. We could have wished that he had now illustrated the causes of obscurity in certain prophecies, as resulting from their visionary origin, in the way and with the success with which he did in the first volume of his *Christologie*, and that he had given that prominence to the moral element of prophecy, which has been so justly given to it, by the late Mr. Davison and Dr. J. P. Smith.\*

The articles on Natural History abound in valuable matter, much of which is new, and, coming from distinguished naturalists, entitled to particular attention. There is hardly a book on Scripture Antiquities, or Natural History, which has not treated of the hooded serpent; but the following, extracted from an article by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton Smith, illustrates a difficult subject in a manner which will be new and satisfactory to many. Colonel Smith, we should add, is a fellow of the Royal and Linnean Societies, and president of the Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society.

‘The genus *Naja-Haridi*, (?) of Savary, is distinguished by a plaited head, large, very venomous fangs, a neck dilatable under excitement, which raises the ribs of the anterior parts of the body into the form of a disk or hood, when the scales, usually not imbricated, but lying in juxtaposition, are separated, and expose the skin, which at that time displays bright iridescent gleams, contrasting highly with their brown, yellow, and blueish colours. The species attain at least an equal, if not a superior, size to the generality of the genus viper; are more massive in their structure; and some possess the faculty of self-inflation to triple their diameter, gradually forcing the body upwards into an erect position, until, by a convulsive crisis, they are said suddenly to strike backwards at an enemy or a pursuer. With such powers of destroying animal life, and with an aspect at once terrible and resplendent, it may be easily imagined how soon fear and superstition would combine, at periods anterior to historical data to raise these monsters into divinities, and endeavour to deprecate their wrath by the blandishments of worship; and how design and cupidity would teach these very votaries the manner of subduing their ferocity, of extracting their instruments of mischief, and making them subservient to the wonder and amusement of the vulgar, by using certain cadences of sound which affect their hearing, and exciting in them a desire to perform a kind of pleasurable movements

† See Davison's ‘Discourses on Prophecy,’ Disc. II., pp. 37–74, 2nd edition; and, besides Dr. Smith's ‘Sermon on Prophetic Interpretation,’ his ‘Lecture on the Prophets,’ addressed to Sunday-school teachers, and published by the Sunday-school Union as a tract. This is small in bulk, but contains many valuable hints, which the student would not find in most of the larger publications on prophecy with which we are acquainted.

that may be compared to dancing. Hence the *nagas* of the east, the *hug-worms* of the west, and the *haje*, have all been deified, styled agathodæmon or good spirit; and figures of them occur wherever the superstition of pagan antiquity has been accompanied by the arts of civilization.

The most prominent species of the genus at present is the *naja tripudians*, *cobra di capello*, hooded or spectacled snake of India, venerated by the natives, even by the serpent-charmers styled the good serpent to this day, and yet so ferocious that it is one of the very few that will attack a man when surprised in its haunt, although it may be gorged with prey. This species is usually marked on the nape with two round spots, transversely connected in the form of a pair of spectacles; but among several varieties, one, perhaps distinct, is without the marks, and has a glossy golden hood, which may make it identical with the *naje haje* of Egypt, the undoubted Ikh-nuphi, cneph, or agathodæmon of ancient Egypt, and accurately represented on the walls of its temples, in almost innumerable instances, both in form and colour. This serpent also inflates the skin on the neck, not in the expanded form of a hood, but rather into an intumescence of the neck. As in the former, there is no marked difference of appearance between the sexes; but the psilli, or charmers, by a particular pressure on the neck, have the power of rendering the inflation of the animal, already noticed as a character of the genus, so intense, that the serpent becomes rigid, and can be held out horizontally as if it were a rod. This practice explains what the soothsayers of Pharaoh could perform when they were opposing Moses, and reveals one of the names by which the Hebrews knew the species; for although the text (Exod. iv. 3) uses, for the rod of Aaron converted into a serpent, the word נָחָשׁ *nachash*, and subsequently (vii. 15) תָּנִין *thannin*, it is plain that, in the second passage, the word indicates 'monster,' as applied to the *nachash* just named—the first being an appellative, the second an epithet. That the rods of the magicians of Pharaoh were of the same external character is evident from no different denomination being given them: therefore we may infer that they used a real serpent as a rod—namely, the species now called *haje*—for their imposture; since they no doubt did what the present serpent-charmers perform with the same species, by means of the temporary *asphyxiation*, or suspension of vitality, before noticed, and producing restoration to active life by liberating or throwing down. Thus we have the miraculous character of the prophet's mission shown by his real rod becoming a serpent, and the magician's real serpents merely assuming the form of rods; and when both were opposed in a state of animated existence, by the rod devouring the living animals, conquering the great typical personification of the protecting divinity of Egypt. *Nachash* may therefore, with some confidence, be assumed to have been the Hebrew name, or at least one of the names, of the *naje haje*, *el haje*, and *haje nacher*, of the Arabs. This species may be regarded as extending to India and Ceylon; and probably the *naja tripudians* is likewise

an inhabitant of Arabia, if not of Egypt, although the assertion of the fact (common in authors) does not exclude a supposition that they take the two species to be only one. We are disposed to refer the 'winged' or 'flying' serpent to the *naja tripudians*, in one of its varieties, because, with its hood dilated into a kind of shining wings on each side of the neck, standing in undulating (קפצות) motion, one half or more erect, rigid and fierce in attack, and deadly poisonous, yet still denominated 'good spirit,' and in Egypt ever figured in combination with the winged globe—it may well have received the name of שרפ, *saraph*, and may thus meet all the valid objections, and conciliate seemingly opposite comments (see Numbers xxi. 6, 8; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29, xxx. 6; and Paxton's *Illustrations*.) excepting the authority of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Bochart, which, with all the respect due to their names, is not now sufficient to establish the existence of a kind of serpents whose structure is contrary to the laws of zoological organization.'—vol. i. p. 70.

Under the title BEHEMOTH, Colonel Stewart states his opinion that, while the allusions in Job present some features which are characteristic of the hippopotamus, there are several which no less strikingly indicate the elephant. He regards the term as 'a poetical personification of the great pachydermata, or even herbivora, wherein the idea of hippopotamus is predominant. This view, he thinks, 'accounts for the ascription to it of characters not truly applicable to one species,' which he shows to be the case. He adds:—

'The book of Job appears, from many internal indications, to have been written in Asia,\* and is full of knowledge, although that knowledge is not expressed according to the precise technicalities of modern science. It offers pictures in magnificent outline, without condescending to minute and laboured details. Considered in this light, the expression in Ps. l. 10, 'For every beast of the forest is mine, and the cattle (behemoth) upon a thousand hills,' acquires a grandeur and force far surpassing the mere idea of cattle of various kinds. If, therefore, we take this plural noun to be the meaning here briefly indicated, we may likewise consider the leviathan, its counterpart, a similarly generalized form with the idea of the crocodile most prominent; but from the very name indicating a twisting animal, and which from various texts evidently include the great pythons, cetacea, and sharks of the surrounding seas and deserts, it conveys a more sublime allusion than if limited to the crocodile, an animal familiar to every Egyptian, and well known even in Palestine.'—*Art. Behemoth.* vol. i. p. 317.

\* The question *where* the book of Job was written is discussed at some length by Dr. Hengstenberg, in his article under that title. He concludes that it was written in Palestine, by an Israelite. Eichhorn was of opinion that it was written by an Israelite, but in Arabia. The author was evidently well acquainted with the natural history both of Arabia and Egypt.—*Rev.*



It is easy to infer from these instances how powerfully some of the articles on natural history are brought to bear on the elucidation of obscure biblical passages. Those which do not involve difficulties of this kind, are, many of them, distinguished by a clear and comprehensive treatment of their several subjects. A considerable number of interesting medical articles also occur, among which we may mention those on 'blindness,' 'blood and water,' 'bloody sweat,' and 'leprosy,' by Dr. W. A. Nicholson. The second of these contains some observations concerning the causes of our Lord's death, which tend to confirm its peculiar character, as a voluntary rendering up of his soul to God under the burden of our curse.

'Blood and water (John xix. 34) are said to have issued from our Lord's side, when the soldier pierced him on the cross. The only natural explanation that can be offered of the fact, is to suppose that some effusion had taken place in the cavity of the chest, and that the spear penetrated below the level of the fluid. Supposing this to have happened, and the wound to have been inflicted shortly after death, then, in addition to the water, blood would also have trickled down, or, at any rate, have made its appearance at the mouth of the wound, even though none of the larger vessels had been wounded. It is not necessary to suppose that the pericardium was pierced; for if effusion had taken place there, it might also have taken place in the cavities of the pleura; and during health, neither the pericardium nor the pleura contains fluid, but are merely lubricated with moisture on their internal or opposing surfaces, so as to allow of free motion to the heart and lungs.

'It may be objected to this view of the question, that, according to the longest computation, our Lord died in six hours; and this is too short a time to occasion effusion. Indeed, reasoning from experience alone, it is very difficult to understand the *physical* cause of our Lord's death. The crucifixion is quite inadequate to account for it; for, even if the impression produced by this torture on a weak nervous system was sufficient to annihilate consciousness and sensibility, the death of the body, or what physiologists have termed *organic* death, could not have taken place in so short a time, as long as the brain, lungs, and circulation, the so-called *atria mortis*, had sustained no material injury. In other words, the functions of respiration, circulation, secretion, and nutrition, must have continued for a much longer time. In fact, we learn from Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles. viii. 8), that many of the Egyptian martyrs perished from hunger on the cross, although they were crucified with their heads downwards. According to Richter, some survive on the cross for three, four, and even *nine* days, (Winer's *Bibl. Realwört. s. v. Jesus*). Our Lord's death could not have been occasioned by tetanus, or else it would have been mentioned; and even this disease, though the sufferer be racked with the most frightful convulsions without intermission, most rarely puts an end to life in less than twelve hours.

Nor can we attribute it to the wound inflicted by the soldier; for although, when it is said he 'expired, and the soldiers saw that he was dead,' our Lord might have merely fainted, yet it is impossible to suppose that the soldier would not have perceived his error the moment he inflicted the wound, provided it was mortal; for then would have commenced the death-struggle, which, in cases of death by asphyxia and hæmorrhage, is very severe, and would have struck the most careless observer.'—vol. i. p. 339

How powerfully does the preceding extract confirm the affecting representation given by Dr. Russell, of Dundee, in the first of his well-known and interesting 'Letters,' concerning the real cause of the Saviour's death! 'He at last,' says Dr. Russell, 'expired under the curse, not so much in consequence of the exhaustion of nature by bodily pain and the loss of blood, (for in the article of death he cried with a loud voice, and Pilate marvelled when he heard of it,) as in consequence of the extreme pressure of mental torture, Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 44. This was too racking, too exquisite for nature to support—it literally broke his heart. That sorrow which is the very soul of the curse, terminated his life; and thus discovered the nature of his sufferings, together with their great and glorious design.' (Letters, 5th edition, p. 8.) . . . He suffered under the power of the Lawgiver and the Judge of all; and that in such circumstances, that in the prime of life *he died of a wounded spirit*. . . Resigning himself into the hands of his God, he exclaimed, 'Father! into thy hands I commend my spirit,' and bowing his head, he gave up the ghost, (ib. p. 17). The sequel of the last extract from the Cyclopædia very well exposes the suggestion with which Strauss endeavours to destroy the credit of this part of the evangelist's narrative; but we must not be induced by any matter, however tempting, to prolong our necessarily passing notice of this department of the work. We can only add, that a very large share of the wood-cut illustrations, which are exceedingly neat and appropriate, adorn this department.

A large proportion of the geographical articles are from the pen of the learned editor, whose previous labours in this field of biblical research are a fair guarantee for the good quality not only of his own papers, but for those which he has accepted from others. Dr. Beard, the writer of the article on Sinai, agrees with the opinion expressed in Robinson's 'Biblical Researches,' that Mount Horeb, and not Djebel Monsa, was the mountain where the law was delivered to Moses, dissenting from the view before expressed by Dr. Kitto in his notes to the 'Pictorial Bible,' and repeated in his 'Physical Geography of Palestine,' that Mount Serbal was then so distinguished. The geography of this most interesting region is additionally illustrated

by articles on Selah [Petra] by Dr. Boyle, and on the 'Wanderings of the Israelites,' by Dr. Beard. The passage of the Red Sea is discussed by Dr. Beard, (s. v. Exodus). The plain of Baideah, on the south-side of Mount Attaka, which last Sicard identifies with Baal-zephon, is, in Dr. Beard's judgment, the spot where the passage was effected. He justifies his position with great skill, and shows, we think, successfully, in opposition to Dr. Robinson's, that the passage could not have been made at the very head of the gulf, close to Suez. We should have quoted with pleasure from this article, but it would require too long an extract to do justice to Dr. Beard's argument. The article, we should add, is written with much learning, and contains some original matter.

The article on Jerusalem, by Dr. Kitto, is very elaborate and excellent, comprising thirty-five columns and a half. It is partly historical and partly descriptive. That on Babel, six columns; Babylon, ten columns; and Egypt, twenty-five;—all by Dr. Beard—are admirable articles, and evince a very exact acquaintance with all the most recent sources of information. These articles are profusely and well illustrated by cuts. 'Assyria,' by Mr. Morren, and 'Phœnicia,' by Dr. Baur, of Giessen, are learned and well written papers.

Passing, as we must do, to the Archæological articles, we should feel that we had a difficult work before us, were we obliged to exhibit any quantity, even of the more prominent improvements of the present work in this department. It is the department, which is, if we except Biblical History, by far the most frequently explained of all; consequently all our readers may be expected to be tolerably familiar with it. It is in fact illustrated, and well illustrated too,—witness the Tract Society's publication on the 'Manners and Customs of the Jews,'—in treatises accessible even to Sunday-scholars. It might be sufficient, therefore, to remark, that the same superiority of information distinguishes this branch of the work, which we have had occasion to recognize in others. But among the multifarious contents of this department, there will be some that are excluded from all but scientific treatises in dictionaries, and we must be permitted to say a word or two on one or two of these.

The article on the Hebrew language, by Dr. John Nicholson, the translator of Ewald's grammar, though comprised in six columns and a half, is far superior to any which we have met with in any dictionary. We prefer it on some accounts to any of those historical accounts of the language which are prefixed to the most scientific grammars. It gives just that sort of information respecting the relation of the language to its cognates, its changes of form, cessation as a living vernacular language, the



distinction between ordinary and poetic diction, and the origination of the vowel points, which such a cyclopædia as we have before us should give, indicating the sources of fuller information, and prompting to the use of them. Another article, by the same writer, on the Arabic language, though shorter, is equally good.

Under the titles 'Alphabet,' written by Dr. John Nicholson, and 'Alphabetical Sounds,' written by Mr. Francis W. Newman, now professor of the Roman language and literature at University College, London, the student may also find some very valuable information on a subject deeply interesting to the learned. The researches of Seyffart, Kopp, Gesenius, Hoffman, are laid under contribution in the former [we were a little surprised that Hupfeld's briefer, but very acute investigations, were forgotten] and the most useful general results stated. It is enough to say that Mr. Newman's alphabetical comparisons, or rather comparisons of alphabetical sounds, are worthy of his distinguished and accurate scholarship.

The articles under this branch include, of course, all names of offices, and as those of the New Testament, as well as the Old, are elucidated, we found in its proper place one on the office of 'Bishop.' This also is by Professor Newman. Our readers know, as well as we do, that this long discussed subject is not one which controversy has abandoned yet, and since it is one of the most vexed questions of our own times, and one in which all ecclesiastical parties take a deep interest, and especially as the article in question is an unusually able one, we shall venture to extract from it. We shall not, however, extract from that portion of it with which we most nearly agree,—this would be to reproduce matter with which all anti-prelatical readers are familiar, but a smaller part of it, on which we shall take the liberty to offer a few remarks:—

'The apostles themselves, it is held by some, were the real *bishops* of that day; and it is quite evident that they performed many episcopal functions. It may well be true, that the only reason why no bishops (in the modern sense) were then wanting, was because the apostles were living; but it cannot be inferred that in any strict sense prelates are *co-ordinate in rank with the apostles*, and can claim to exercise their powers. The later 'bishop' did not come forward as a successor to the apostles, but was developed out of the presbyter; much less can it be proved, or alleged with plausibility, that the apostles took any measures for securing substitutes for themselves (in the high character of apostles) after their decease. It has been with many a favorite notion, that Timothy and Titus exhibit the episcopal type even during the life of Paul; but this is an obvious misconception. They were attached to the person of the apostle, and not to any one church. In the last epistle written by him (2 Tim. iv. 9)

he calls Timothy suddenly to Rome, in words that prove that the latter was not, at least as yet, bishop, either of Ephesus or of any other church. That Timothy was an *evangelist* is distinctly stated, (2 Tim. iv. 5), and that he had received spiritual gifts (i. 6, &c.) there is then no difficulty in accounting for the authority vested in him (1 Tim. v. 1; xix. &c.), without imagining him to have been a bishop, which is, in fact, disproved even by the same epistle (i. 3). That Titus, moreover, had no local attachment to Crete is plain from Titus iii. 13, to say nothing of the earlier epistle, 2 Cor. *passim*. Nor is it true that the episcopal power developed itself out of wandering evangelists any more than out of the apostles.

On the other hand, it would seem that the bishop began to elevate himself above the presbyter, while the apostle John was yet alive, and in churches to which he is believed to have peculiarly devoted himself. The meaning of the title *angel*, in the opening chapters of the Apocalypse, has been mystically explained by some; but its true meaning is clear from the nomenclature of the Jewish synagogues. In them, we are told, the minister who ordinarily led the prayers of the congregation, besides acting as their chief functionary in matters of business, was entitled *רש"ת הקהילה* a name which may be translated literally *nuncius ecclesiæ*, and is here expressed by the Greek *ἄγγελος*. The substantive *מלאך* also (which by analogy would be rendered *ἄγγελία*, as *מלאך* is *ἄγγελος*) has the ordinary sense of *opus ministerium*, making it almost certain that the 'angels of the churches' are nothing but a harsh Hebraism for 'ministers of the churches.' We therefore here see a single officer, in these rather large Christian communities, elevated into a peculiar prominence, which has been justly regarded as episcopal. Nor does it signify that the authorship of the Apocalypse is disputed, since its extreme antiquity is beyond a doubt; we find, therefore, the germ of episcopacy here planted, as it were, under the eyes of an apostle.'—(*Neander Pflanzung und Leitung*, ii. 468.)

We must here close our quotation, though some admirable matter immediately follows. There are two statements in this extract on which we would say a word. 'It may well be true,' says Mr. Newman, 'that the only reason why no bishops (in the modern sense) were then wanting, was because the apostles were living.' This is a concession to the argument in favour of diocesan episcopacy, though a very slight one, certainly, and one the value of which is annihilated by what immediately follows. The concession itself being simply gratuitous, is not worth disputing; or it might perhaps be shown—indeed the claim set up in favour of the diocesan episcopacy of Timothy and Titus implies as much, that such bishops, if wanted at all, were wanted in the apostles' times. Having noticed the subsequent part of the paragraph, we would add that it coincides in part with the argument by which Mr. Binney has so admirably refuted the claims of diocesan episcopacy in his recent sermon occa-



sioned by the refusal of a grave to Mr. Guyer. The bearing of Paul's farewell address to the elders of Ephesus, and the true relation of Timothy and Titus to the churches of Ephesus and Crete are there exhibited with a force unanswerably destructive of the diocesan hypothesis. The passage we particularly refer to may be seen in the 'Biblical Review' for August, pp. 142, 3, but the entire discourse, like everything of its author's, well deserves perusal.

We do not agree with Mr. Newman, though he has in his favour, we believe, the general voice of the learned, when he says, in the second paragraph of the preceding extract, 'we therefore here see a single officer, in these rather large Christian communities, elevated into a peculiar prominence, which has justly been regarded as episcopal.' It is clear that the designation 'Angel of the church' is figurative. The whole of the imagery of the Apocalypse is cast in the ancient forms of the Old Testament symbolism. The visions of John correspond in character with those of Daniel and Zechariah. Hence the introductory references to the officers of the seven churches are expressed under Old Testament designations. This being the case, it would have been a violation of the propriety of the Old Testament form to have spoken of the 'angels' of one congregation, because under the Old Testament each synagogue had but one. The ministry which in the New Testament churches performed the same general duties as devolved on the angel of the synagogue under the Old, is therefore, we consider, even though consisting of more than one person, symbolically represented as the 'angel' of the church, not the 'angels,' because each synagogue had possessed but one angel. Mr. Newman's statement is also discountenanced by chronological considerations. The Book of Revelation (see Dr. Davidson's elaborate article on the subject, vol. ii. pp. 621, 622) was probably written before the destruction of Jerusalem, *i. e.*, in the year 67 or 68. Now Paul had only a few years earlier, most probably in the spring of 58 or 59, addressed an assembly of Ephesian elders at Miletus. It is hardly probable that the constitution of the church had changed so greatly in that time. Besides, supposing, what though not improbable, cannot be fairly assumed, that John's epistle, which was undoubtedly addressed to a leading Christian in the Ephesian Asia, if not in Ephesus itself, was written before the Apocalypse, this would only show that Diotrephes, one of the elders, (Demetrius, whose conduct is contrasted with his being another) *sought* something like prelatical authority; but that John both disapproved and threatened to punish his conduct. These hints, therefore, afford no countenance to Mr. Newman's view, though sanctioned by the general consent of theologians.



The last department of the Cyclopædia which we have to notice is that of biblical history and biography. For the general excellence of this department, also, we have a guarantee in Dr. Kitto's previous labours. Considering, however, the numerous difficulties which scripture history embraces, and the various pens which the editor was obliged to engage to assist him, it was morally impossible that all the articles should be equally convincing and satisfactory. It is but justice to the editor of such a work, that we should give his own account of his position and responsibilities, as he realized them himself:—

'The only drawback likely to arise from co-operation so various and extensive, lay in the probability that considerably different views might be manifested in the several articles; and that, too, on subjects on which every reader is likely to have formed some opinion of his own, and will be disposed to regard as erroneous or suspicious, every opinion which may not entirely coincide with that which he has been accustomed to entertain. In this lay the sole danger and the greatest difficulty of such an undertaking. Here was to be a book which no one man, and not even a very few men could produce; and which the public would yet probably expect to exhibit as much unity, not only of plan and execution, but of opinion and sentiment, as if it were the produce of a single mind. The editor, however, felt that he could not undertake to find forty independent thinkers among whom there could be no visible diversities of sentiment. But he thought that much might be done in producing so near an approach to uniformity on matters of real importance as would satisfy every reasonable reader. . . . Entire uniformity, if attainable at all, could only have been attained at the cost of providing a very different and greatly inferior work.'—*Preface*, p. viii.

Having then stated that it did not consist with his ideas to dictate to the contributors the views they were to take of the subjects entrusted to them, and that, except in his own instance, the initials of each contributor were appended to the articles he had furnished, the editor adds:

'Yet though some explanation is due to those who may possibly find in this work, in a few articles, opinions in which they cannot agree, and views from which their own differ, it is right that the persons engaged in producing it should claim for it a judgment founded, not on particular articles, but upon its general character, which was intended to be, and is, in accordance with the known standards of orthodox opinion in this country, as may be ascertained by reference to those leading articles, which may be regarded as stamping the character of any work in which they are found,' etc.—*Preface*, pp. viii, ix.

This claim is just. We can also testify to the sound character

both for scholarship and moral feeling, which many of the leading contributions exhibit, and consider that the diversity which exists here and there is no disparagement, but rather an advantage to the work. It allows, what every scholar or student must desire, a better opportunity of sifting opinions and statements, than a more partial or arbitrary method would have afforded. But this very circumstance also renders it necessary that the readers of the work should come to the study of it with a disposition to compare and examine; that they should search for proof, wherever proofs can be obtained, and hold whatever result their investigations issue in, with just so much of conviction, and no more, as the evidence warrants. In this way it may be fairly presumed, that if there be anything jejune, or doubtful, or erroneous in one part, it will be corrected by another, and the true normal habits of the bible-student be usefully encouraged and strengthened.

We can partially illustrate these remarks by instances immediately before us. The article 'DAVID' produced no small anxiety in our mind when we first perused it, as the work came out in numbers. This anxiety was not occasioned by the exhibition which the article gives of the apparent discrepancies which exist in the First book of Samuel respecting the early life of David: these discrepancies must be taken into account, if we would investigate the sources from which an accurate view of David's history is to be derived. Neither would we altogether say, that the article is written in a spirit unfriendly to the authority, and opposed to the representations of Scripture; the close of it resists that view. But we did perceive that the difficulties were stated keenly and *con-amore*; that though some of the solutions which have been suggested were passingly hinted at, there was neither any examination of them, nor any reference to the authors by whom they are exhibited and defended; that some portions of David's conduct were regarded not from the scriptural point of view, but from that of a low rationalism; and that even the silence of scripture as to David's motives, is occasionally construed into a ground of an insinuation unfriendly to his character. We laid down the article, in fact, under the impression that it was simply calculated to engender doubt. We therefore did fear, that if other leading historical articles were written in the same manner, the effect would be very injurious to students whose range of reading might be limited. But our apprehensions were subsequently removed. In the articles on Saul and on the Books of Samuel, those counterbalancing considerations are stated, which will enable the reader to see the whole case before him, and references are added to other works, in which the principal subjects

are comprehensively discussed. The last mentioned articles did not indeed remove our dissatisfaction at the mode in which the immolation of Saul's sons was treated under the article 'David;' but, considering the great variety of contributors engaged, and that so many of them are foreign writers, there is comparatively little of a description which we should disapprove. Let the work be fairly used as a whole, and it will be productive of extensive benefit to the cause of sacred learning in our country.

As historical contributions of great interest we may specify 'Adam,' and 'Noah,' by Dr. Pye Smith; 'Moses,' by Professor Hävernicks; 'Abraham,' by Dr. Kitto; 'Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph,' by Dr. Beard; 'Nebuchadnezzar,' by Dr. Wright; 'Jeremiah,' by Mr. Gotch; 'Jesus,' by Dr. John Brown; 'Paul and Peter,' by Dr. Alexander. Some of these are worthy of a distinct notice did our limits allow of it. In this department, as well as in all the preceding, all that we can do is to suggest, by a few remarks and specimens, the *general* quality of the work under review; and our readers must by no means take for granted that articles which we have overlooked, or been compelled to pass over, are therefore of inferior merit or importance. Having, indeed, for the sake of convenience, adopted the arrangement of subjects mentioned in our first extract, we find that we have neglected altogether a numerous class of miscellaneous articles, which yet are of the highest interest. Among these we must mention 'Angels,' and 'Heaven,' by the editor; 'Canaan,' by Dr. Alexander; 'Creation,' by Professor Baden Powell; 'Gnosticism,' 'Greek Philosophy,' and 'Logos,' by Mr. Potter, of Oriel College, Oxford; 'Inspiration and Miracles,' by Dr. Leonard Woods; 'Interpretation and Hermeneutics,' by Dr. Credner; 'Introduction (biblical),' by the same; 'Justification,' and 'Mediator,' by Dr. Doran; 'Manuscripts,' (biblical) and 'Talmud,' by Dr. Davidson; 'Proper Names,' by Dr. Ewald; 'Nations, Dispersion of,' and 'Confusion of Tongues,' by Dr. Pye Smith; 'Revelations,' spurious, by Dr. Wright; 'Schools,' by Dr. Michelson and the editor; and 'Theology,' (biblical) by Dr. Credner. We trust our readers are now satisfied with the promise of valuable information which this work holds out to those who purchase and peruse it, and that such as are interested in biblical inquiries will procure and make a good use of it. It is worthy of the advanced age in which it was produced, and will assist in realizing a still higher standard of biblical science.

In our opening paragraph we made reference to a Biblical Cyclopædia, widely distinguishable from all the imitations and abstracts of Calmet, which are now so happily superseded. We had in view, as our more intelligent readers will have supposed,



the *Biblisches Real-wörterbuch* of Winer. It was our intention to have compared some few articles of that work with corresponding ones in Dr. Kitto's, for the sake of showing that occasionally, though not exactly in the same instances, both have travelled beyond the due range of Scripture subjects, and that both have left some topics unnoticed, on which the biblical student might desire information. We may refer to the article 'Shekinah,' as one we have subjected to this comparative analysis. But our limits are filled up; and we can only suggest that even now, on a review of his whole work, Dr. Kitto might obtain some very valuable additional matter from Winer, and express our hope that the present Cyclopædia is, like the 'Britannica,' destined to live as the standard work of its class, embodying new and important improvements in each successive edition.

We have only to add that this Cyclopædia is printed with surprising accuracy. We noticed in page 985 of vol. ii., 'Blaney' for Blayney, and 'Stouard' for Stonard, and elsewhere one or two trifling errors of the press; but the greatest pains have evidently been taken to ensure correctness. In taking leave of it, or rather,—as we expect to consult it frequently,—let us say, in concluding this lengthened, though rapid and imperfect notice, we would express our hope, 'that with such claims to attention, and embodying as it does the results of great labour and much anxious thought, the work now offered to the public will not only receive indulgent consideration for the minute errors, defects, and perhaps discrepancies, from which the editor dares not hope that it is wholly exempt,' but that it will obtain the patronage to which it is fairly entitled, and prove to wealthy publishers that light literature is not the only, or even the best, outlet for literary enterprise.

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Art. III.—*Life in California: during a residence of several years in that Territory, comprising a Description of the Country and the Missionary Establishments, with Incidents, Observations, etc. etc. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. By an American. To which is annexed a Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions, of the Indians of Alta-California. Translated from the original Spanish Manuscript. New York: Wiley and Putnam.*

CALIFORNIA is only slightly known to our countrymen, and until lately it possessed very little to attract their attention. Situated in a distant region, thinly populated, without commerce or literature, a mere dependance of a feeble and despised government, it possessed neither political, social, or religious

interest. It awakened no enquiry, and rendered no tribute to the general stock of human knowledge. Recent events, however, have placed it before the eye of European statesmen, who are, in consequence, asking for information respecting its condition and capabilities. The United States government is evidently bent on its acquisition. Their vast extent of territory does not satisfy them, and they are consequently looking to this neglected region as the means of providing for their restless and adventurous citizens. This has been anticipated for some time, as much more probable than the occupation of the country by Russia, which it was the fashion a few years since to apprehend. The latter were until recently settled on the northern frontier of California, and it was thought probable by many that an effort would be made to extend the domains of the autocrat in this direction. The Russian settlement, however, has been abandoned, and the fears to which it gave rise have, in consequence, disappeared. The present danger—if such it may be termed—is from another quarter. Though the frontiers of North America are much more distant than the Russian, yet the habits of the people render this of little moment. The tide of American emigration is moving rapidly in the direction of California, and unless some change occurs, which no human foresight can predict, it can scarcely fail to revolutionize the institutions and habits of extensive regions. Under such circumstances we welcome accurate information from any quarter, and though the volume before us possesses little that is exciting, or even very interesting in its details, it has, nevertheless, a value which renders it both interesting and useful. It is the production of a man of business, who writes briefly, and in clear style, what he saw and heard, without descanting much on the rationale of things, or attempting an explanation of Californian mysteries. He is, for the most part, satisfied with recording what was on the surface, and as his engagements were mainly commercial, the lovers of adventure will find little to gratify their taste. His first intention was to have prefixed a sketch of the country to his translation of Boscana's 'Historical Account of the Indians of California,' but the increasing interest taken by his countrymen in the subject has induced him 'to lay before the reader a simple statement respecting the country, and its political progress, from the time when Mexico became free from Spanish dominion.' In doing this he has confined himself, as far as possible, to the events which fell under his own observation, and his work is consequently wanting in breadth of information, while it constitutes, nevertheless, an agreeable and instructive companion. The country is nominally, at least, under the government of Mexico, by whom its governor, and

other officers, have been appointed. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, along which it extends, and on the east by a range of the Cordilleras and the Indian territory. The part inhabited by European and other foreign settlers, is a tract immediately contiguous to the sea, with an average breadth of about forty miles.

‘The whole of Upper California was left entirely to the control of the Franciscan Friars; while the Dominicans were entrusted with the lower province. From 1769 until 1776, no less than nineteen missions were founded—another in 1817, and one more in 1823, which are all that have ever been established. These were the germs of Spanish colonization, which were advanced under the protection of four *Presidios*, or military fortresses; viz., St. Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and St. Francisco; from whence troops could be marched at any moment, if requisite. The prosperity of these missions was great until the year 1824, since which they have gradually depreciated, and are now almost entirely destroyed.’—Preface, p. vii.

Our author left Boston in July 1828, in the character of a commercial agent, and resided in the country during several years, and the account he gives confirms the view of preceding writers, as to the failure hitherto of republican institutions in Mexico. He visited most of the missions, and the sketch of any one of them will afford a tolerably accurate view of all. We take that of St. Luis Rey, which is situated in the midst of a beautiful valley.

‘It was yet early in the afternoon when we rode up to the establishment, at the entrance of which many Indians had congregated to behold us, and as we dismounted, some stood ready to take off our spurs, whilst others unsaddled the horses. The reverend father was at prayers, and some time elapsed ere he came, giving us a most cordial reception. Chocolate and refreshments were at once ordered for us, and rooms where we might arrange our dress, which had become somewhat soiled by the dust.

‘This mission was founded in the year 1798, by its present minister, father Antonio Peyri, who had been for many years a reformer and director among the Indians. At this time, 1829, its population was about three thousand Indians, who were all employed in various occupations. Some were engaged in agriculture, while others attended to the management of over sixty thousand head of cattle. Many were carpenters, masons, coopers, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, &c., while the females were employed in spinning and preparing wool for their looms, which produced a sufficiency of blankets for their yearly consumption. Thus every one had his particular vocation, and each department its official superintendent, or *alcalde*; these were subject to the supervision of one or more Spanish *mayordomos*, who were appointed by the missionary father, and consequently under his immediate direction.



The building occupies a large square, of at least eighty or ninety yards each side; forming an extensive area, in the centre of which a fountain constantly supplies the establishment with pure water. The front is protected by a long corridor, supported by thirty-two arches, ornamented with latticed railings, which, together with the fine appearance of the church on the right, presents an attractive view to the traveller; the interior is divided into apartments for the missionary and mayordomos, store-rooms, workshops, hospitals, rooms for unmarried males and females, while near at hand is a range of buildings tenanted by the families of the superintendents. There is also a guard-house, where were stationed some ten or a dozen soldiers, and in the rear spacious granaries stored with an abundance of wheat, corn, beans, peas, &c.; also large enclosures for wagons, carts, and the implements of agriculture. In the interior of the square might be seen the various trades at work, presenting a scene not dissimilar to some of the working departments of our state prisons. Adjoining are two large gardens, which supply the table with fruit and vegetables, and two or three large '*ranchos*' or farms are situated from five to eight leagues distant, where the Indians are employed in cultivation and domesticating cattle.

'The church is a large stone edifice, whose exterior is not without some considerable ornament and tasteful finish; but the interior is richer, and the walls are adorned with a variety of pictures of saints and scripture subjects, glaringly coloured, and attractive to the eye. Around the altar are many images of the saints, and the tall and massive candelabras, lighted during mass, throw an imposing light upon the whole.'—pp. 23—25.

The professed object of these establishments is the good of the Indians, and to ascertain, though we fear a very limited extent, this may be effected. Both in the indulgences granted and in the restraints imposed, there is a singular disregard of some of the most obvious principles of our nature, on which alone the civilization of a people can be effected. Self support and self respect are clearly of this order, and yet the whole tendency of the system, as detailed by our author, is adapted rather to repress, than to favour their growth. The system is indeed essentially erroneous. It is one of force, rather than of instruction, and ends in mere formalism and wretchedness. We are not, therefore, surprised, when told that:—

'Mass is offered daily, and the greater portion of the Indians attend; but it is not unusual to see numbers of them driven along by *alcaldes*, and under the whip's lash forced to the very doors of the sanctuary. The men are placed generally upon the left, and the females occupy the right of the church, so that a passage way or aisle is formed between them from the principal entrance to the altar, where zealous officials are stationed to enforce silence and attention. At evening again, '*El Rosario*' is prayed, and a second time all assemble to participate in supplication to the Virgin.

'The condition of these Indians is miserable indeed; and it is not to be wondered at that many attempt to escape from the severity of the religious discipline at the mission. They are pursued, and generally taken; when they are flogged, and an iron clog is fastened to their leg, serving as additional punishment, and a warning to others.'—pp. 25, 26.

Such is the folly with which civilized man has commonly sought to reclaim the savage. He is first reduced to a state of vassalage, if not of personal slavery, and is then punished, if he attempt to recover his former liberty. The result of all this is the semblance, the mere outward form of civilization and religion. Bodily attitudes may easily be imitated, and these are supposed to represent the energy and holiness of religion, however vicious the passions which are cherished, or the practices indulged in. Let the following description of what was seen at St. Gabriel be taken as an illustration:—

'In the morning, at six o'clock, we went to the church, where the priest had already commenced the service of the mass. The imposing ceremony, glittering ornaments, and illuminated walls, were well adapted to captivate the simple mind of the Indian, and I could not but admire the apparent devotion of the multitude, who seemed absorbed, heart and soul, in the scene before them. The solemn music of the mass was well selected, and the Indian voices accorded harmoniously with the flutes and violins that accompanied them. On retiring from the church, the musicians stationed themselves at a private door of the building, whence issued the reverend father, whom they escorted with music to his quarters; there they remained for a half hour, performing waltzes and marches, until some trifling present was distributed among them, when they retired to their homes.

'As is usual on all their 'dias de fiesta,' the remaining part of the sabbath is devoted to amusements, and the Indian generally resorts to gambling, in which he indulges to the most criminal excess, frequently losing all he possesses in the world—his clothes—beads, baubles of all kinds, and even his wife and children! We saw them thus engaged, scattered in groups about the mission, while, at a little distance, quite an exciting horse-race was going on; the Indians betting as wildly on their favourite animals as upon the games of chance, which found so many devotees.'—pp. 31, 32.

The Indian population has for some years past been rapidly declining. That of Alta California was estimated in 1829 at upwards of 30,000, but now scarcely reaches a third of that number, whilst the white population is about 8000. Until recently very little encouragement was given to immigration, and the catholic missions had interests unfriendly to the settlement of foreigners. A wiser policy, however, is now pursued, and several hundred Americans are, in consequence, already located within

the territory. 'Their industrious habits,' says our author, 'have procured for them many very promising settlements, where the lands, under judicious management, produce abundance, and contribute greatly to the beauty of the surrounding country.'

The general tone of morals is such as might have been anticipated, so far, at least, as the men are concerned. The women, we confess, judging from our author's description, are better than we looked for:—

'The men are generally indolent, and addicted to many vices, caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society. Yet, with vice so prevalent amongst the men, the female portion of the community, it is worthy of remark, do not seem to have felt its influence, and perhaps there are few places in the world, where, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, can be found more chastity, industrious habits, and correct deportment, than among the women of this place. This observation may be applied to the country generally; which is rather surprising, when we consider the want of distinction observed between those of virtuous and immoral habits: for it is not unusual to see at public assemblages the most perfect familiarity between the two classes. This often misleads strangers, who form, in consequence, incorrect opinions. In time, when the country becomes more settled, a necessary distinction will prevail among the various classes; and society will be found more select, as in places of greater civilization. Their adherence to the faithful observances of the church, as in all Catholic countries, is truly firm; and the most trifling deviation from its commands is looked upon with abhorrence. The extreme veneration shown towards the holy teachers of their religion, and the wonderful influence exercised by them, even in the affairs of their every-day life, may account for any virtue they may exhibit. The friar's knowledge of the world, and his superior education, give him a station far above the unenlightened state of the laity, and place him in a sphere to inculcate good or disseminate evil. Fortunately, however, for the country, the original founders of Christianity in California were truly pious, excellent men, and their successors, generally, have endeavoured to sustain their honourable character.'—pp. 73, 74.

The greatest atrocities are practised almost with impunity, so feeble is the Mexican government, and so imperfect its executive administration. The following speaks volumes, and would effectually prevent our envying the inhabitants of California:—

'Whilst G—— and myself remained as temporary residents on shore, no particular occurrence transpired, excepting an occasional robbery, or murder, at the south; for still the missions in that quarter were unsettled, and hardly a day passed without some new act of violence occurring.

'A white man was stabbed by a black fellow; but this being con-



sidered only an ordinary occurrence, no notice was taken of it. A sergeant of artillery who had cut the throat of his comrade, was put on board the barque Leonor, bound to St. Blas. There being no constituted tribunal here to take cognizance of the deed, the villain was sent to Mexico, where, the probability is, he was promoted, and will be ordered back to commit more murders! This has been too often the case, and the assassin, emboldened in consequence, hesitates not to kill, when he feels it indispensable to his purpose. What is most astonishing is, why the Indian does not take example from his Mexican brethren, and like them, kill and plunder.'—p. 152.

The national amusements of a people betray much of their character. They are a mirror, in which the inner man is reflected, and on which, therefore, a thoughtful observer will gaze with far more interest than the sport itself can minister.

Knowing what has been fashionable in Europe, and the recent authorities which may be quoted in defence of the wholesale destruction of animal life, for the mere purpose of amusement, we must not hastily draw a too unfavourable conclusion from such scenes as the following, which our author witnessed at the mission of Santa Barbara:—

'No other incident worthy of notice occurred during my journey, and I returned to Santa Barbara, after a pleasant trip, in time to witness a bull and bear bait that was to take place at the Mission, the day following.

'Old Bruin was first, however, to be caught, and about a dozen *vaqueros*, with their mayordomo, started off to entrap him. On such occasions, a bright moonlight night was always selected, and their usual mode of securing him was as follows. In some remote spot which the bears most frequented, a bullock was slain and his carcase left exposed. At an early hour the Indians repaired to some neighbouring concealment where they watched the bear's approach, which was announced by the howling of wolves, and the noise of immense numbers of *coyotes*. He usually crept along suspiciously towards the bait, and while eagerly engaged in consuming it, the Indians suddenly pounced upon him from their ambush, and with their lassos thrown around his neck, tumbled him to the ground. Oftentimes at the approach of his pursuers he would rise on his hind legs, prepared for defence, when the lassos were either broken or forced from the rider. The expert *vaquero*, however, generally succeeded, and poor Bruin, foaming with rage, gagged, and secured with a dozen lassos, was drawn to the Mission; either upon a low, two-wheeled cart, or a large bullock's hide.

'Success had attended them on this occasion, and at sunrise a large grey bear was secured to a tree in front of the Mission. It was past noon when I rode up and dismounted to look at the poor condemned brute, who, almost exhausted with heat and rage, seemed hardly competent to the trial that awaited him. Persons were

standing around, thrusting pointed sticks into his sides, till the madness of the infuriated animal knew no bounds. A sailor, rather the worse for 'aguardiente,' reeled up to take part in the fun, and with his recklessness and wit added infinitely to the amusement. At length an unfortunate stagger brought him within reach of Bruin's paw, who seized him by the leg and drove his teeth quite through the calf. With extreme difficulty, they rescued him from his danger, and a skillful practitioner happening to be near, the wound was immediately sewed up.

The time arrived for the sport to commence, and every one repaired to a large square, formed by the junction of the long corridor with a temporary fence of poles. The bear, still encumbered with his fastenings, was first brought in, and then the bull came plunging into the enclosure, as if a match for a dozen such opponents. A lasso was fastened to the hind leg of the bear, leaving his fore paws at liberty for defence, and connecting with one of the bull's fore legs, so contrived as to give them a scope of about twenty feet for manœuvring. This being accomplished, the other fastenings were removed, and the two terrified creatures remained sole occupants of the square. The bull roared, pawed the earth, flung his head in the air, and at every movement of his opponent seemed inclined to escape, but the lasso checked his course, and brought them both with a sudden jerk to the ground. Bruin, careless of the scene around him, looked with indifference upon his enemy, seemingly too exhausted to bear the struggle, but the jerk of the lasso aroused him as if to a sense of danger, and he rose up on his hind legs, in the posture of defence. At this moment, the bull rushed upon him, and with his sharp horns seemed to have gored him through; but not so, for a mournful bellow told his situation. The bear had seized upon him by the nose, whilst his paws clung around his horns. A sudden exertion, however, liberated the bull from this embrace, and a second plunge drove his horns half way through his enemy's side, and tossed him high in the air, whence he fell powerless to the ground. One or two more successful attacks decided the fate of Bruin, and he was dragged from the arena, covered with numerous and ghastly wounds. The conflict in this case had been short, owing to the exhausted condition of the bear; but, on some occasions, it was continued even to the exhausting of a second bull; this was rare, however, and more frequently a strong bull was able to cope with two such adversaries.

On this occasion every body attended, as is customary in all their amusements, and men, women, and children took part in the discussions relative to the fight. Such exhibitions served for a topic of conversation amongst all classes for months afterwards, and the performance elicited as much applause as is usually bestowed on the triumph of some great actor in the theatre of our own country.—pp. 102—105.

Judged of by their public sports, the Californians will bear an honourable comparison with their Spanish progenitors, for whilst their origin may be traced through the medium of their

recreations, the worst features of the games of Spain are not visible amongst them. This is specially the case with their bull fights, as will appear from the following brief description :—

‘ A bullfight in California is far different from the brutal exhibitions of Spain and Mexico. Here, the bull is not killed, or lacerated; the object of the amusement being merely the exhibition of equestrian performances. All the young bachelors are expected to be present, which generally secures a full attendance of ladies, who stand on stages and platforms erected around the enclosure, ready to bestow their smiles and approbation on those of their choice; hence the waving of handkerchiefs and shawls is incessant.

‘ When a bull enters, (it being customary to admit only one at a time) he usually rushes in as if ready to attack anything before him, till the shouts of the multitude, and the confused fluttering of scarfs, shawls, and ribbons, disconcert the animal, and he retires to the least occupied part of the square, where he remains pawing up the earth. Presently, a horseman comes forth, with a scarlet cloak, or gaudy ‘ scrape,’ which he waves toward the bull; the animal rushes at the object, and the skill of the rider consists in avoiding a collision. Sometimes a dozen riders are thus in the area at once, and in the confusion, it not unfrequently happens that a horse is gored, or a rider thrown. The more valiant appear on foot; and as they nimbly escape danger, or boldly throw themselves into it, the interest is exceedingly increased. When one bull is worn out with fatigue, another is let in to take his place; and occasionally a rocket or squib is thrown to excite his fury. The boys, on horseback, await to receive the harassed creature as he is let out, to drive him off outside of the town; and in his retreat he is sure to be overturned by them at least half a dozen times.’—pp. 208, 209.

The religious festivals of the country are accommodated to the ignorance and bad taste of the people. It is mortifying to observe how the most solemn facts and deepest mysteries of our religion, may be reduced by human folly to the level of the mean and contemptible. It would seem as if an evil agency were perpetually employing itself, with a potency scarcely to be resisted, in order to extinguish the light of revelation, and to surround the most solemn things with an air of ridicule. Unable to banish revelation, it seeks to change its character, to divest it of its august and awful import, to bring it down from its lofty and pure region, and to render it the plaything, the mere bauble at which manhood laughs. And all this is done under the semblance of respect, and with exquisite adaptation, in its form, to the special circumstances of the class addressed. In our own country it is seen in the pomp and pageantry with which the officers and ministrations of religion are associated, and in California it is witnessed in the yet more grotesque and



disgusting form described in the following passage. In both cases, however, the same spirit is essentially present:—

‘They were rehearsing night after night, till at length Christmas arrived, and I had an opportunity of beholding the ceremony of midnight mass and the subsequent performances.

‘At an early hour illuminations commenced, fireworks were set off, and all was rejoicing. The church bells rang merrily, and long before the time of mass the pathways leading to the Presidio were enlivened by crowds hurrying to devotion. I accompanied Don José Antonio, who procured for me a stand where I could see distinctly everything that took place. The mass commenced, Pádre Vicente de Olivia officiated, and at the conclusion of the mysterious ‘*sacrificio*’ he produced a small image representing the infant Saviour, which he held in his hands for all who chose to approach and kiss. After this, the tinkling of the guitar was heard without, the body of the church was cleared, and immediately commenced the harmonious sounds of a choir of voices. The characters entered in procession, adorned with appropriate costume, and bearing banners. There were six females representing shepherdesses, three men and a boy. One of the men personated Lucifer, one a hermit, and the other Bartolo, a lazy vagabond, whilst the boy represented the archangel Gabriel. The story of their performance is partially drawn from the Bible, and commences with the angel’s appearance to the shepherds, his account of the birth of our Saviour, and exhortation to them to repair to the scene of the manger. Lucifer appears among them, and endeavours to prevent the prosecution of their journey. His influence and temptations are about to succeed, when Gabriel again appears and frustrates their effect. A dialogue is then carried on of considerable length relative to the attributes of the Deity, which ends in the submission of Satan. The whole is interspersed with songs and incidents that seem better adapted to the stage than the church. For several days this theatrical representation is exhibited at the principal houses, and the performers at the conclusion of the play are entertained with refreshments. The boys take an enthusiastic part in the performance, and follow about from house to house, perfectly enraptured with the comicalities of the hermit and Bartolo.’—pp. 67—69.

To our author’s work there is appended a valuable addition, in the shape of a translation of Father Boscana’s historical account of the Indians, which will be read with deep interest by all who are engaged in such researches. It forms an appropriate sequel to ‘Life in California,’ and in conjunction with it forms a volume to which the geographer and historian may refer with advantage.

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Art. IV. *Theological Essays*; reprinted from the *Princeton Review*. 8vo. pp. 705. London: Wiley and Putnam.

THIS is a volume of sterling worth. We have seen no production of its class from the Western world that excels it. The articles of which it is composed are selected from the 'Princeton Review,' and go back some fifteen or sixteen years. The Review commenced in the year 1825, under the auspices of Professor Hodge. It has been mainly sustained by the pens of the leading men in the Presbyterian church, and is in the highest degree creditable both to their learning and acuteness. The subjects are nearly all interesting to the whole Christian church, and will be found to include the principal points in debate between the Evangelical theory on the one hand, and modern infidel philosophy, Popery, Socinianism, Pelagianism, Arminianism, etc., on the other. One highly valuable and long article, which has deeply interested us, is Professor Tholuck's 'History of Theology in the Eighteenth Century.' This essay, which occupies between eighty and ninety pages of close print, is a translation made in 1827 from a manuscript copy of a course of lectures, delivered by the author when connected with the university of Berlin. The translation, though made from notes taken in the lecture-room, has had the advantage of passing under the eye of the learned author. We would gladly transfer to our pages the whole of this deeply-learned, comprehensive, and most able essay. But as that is quite impossible, we shall select a portion of the *seventh section*, entitled—'*On the Influence of the New Philosophy.*'

The author, in the first or introductory part, states the bad effect produced upon the German mind by the excessive pretensions of Wolf's philosophy, which by asserting its ability to make even the doctrines of Christianity as clear and firm as any mathematical demonstration, had driven many profound thinkers into the extreme conclusion, that truth was utterly unattainable. Besides this, Wolf, though professing to hold Christianity, had separated so completely between natural and revealed religion, that many of his disciples contented themselves with embracing the former and rejecting the latter, as wholly beyond the sphere of demonstrative evidence. This gave rise to what was known as 'the popular philosophy,' and Wolf's disciples became divided into the two parties which would be known in this country under the name of Deists and Christians.

But then the great change came on which affected everything bearing the name of thought and philosophy. Kant

arose, excited, Dr. Tholuck thinks, by the scepticism of Hume, to investigate the capability of the human powers to attain to a knowledge of invisible things. The issue of Kant's philosophizing was the conclusion, that man was wholly incompetent to attain to a knowledge of invisible things by any species of demonstration like that which Wolf had worked. He therefore gave up what had been called metaphysics, and attempted to erect an entirely novel system on the *postulates of practical reason*. The hinge upon which the Kantian system turns is called *the categorical imperative* in man; that is, that we should be and do what the moral law (*of our nature*) requires. Dr. Tholuck goes on to show that this system tended directly to bring all the peculiarities of Christianity into contempt. The standard of moral duty was sought in the pure reason, and only so much of Christianity was deemed estimable as approved itself to this standard, and just because it was deemed to have proceeded from that source. He then shows that another crisis of philosophy occurred when Fichte, one of Kant's pupils, overthrew the system of his master: proving, that if we know nothing of the essences of things, and that their predicates are altogether categories of our own minds, then we have no sort of evidence of an external world, and our conclusion ought to be that there is nothing out of ourselves. Thus he destroyed all distinction between matter and mind. No wonder, then, that he led the philosophers to the conclusion, that there exists nothing but spirit. From this point he proceeded to merge all the finite spirits of men in the infinite Spirit of God, or, which is the same thing, to identify God with the spirit of man. Take the proposition either way, and God becomes nothing but man—or man is the only God. Dr. Tholuck observes, that this system of Fichte's was more consequent than that of Kant, but it failed to solve the problem—the removal of the difference of matter and spirit; dualism therefore remains in this system as well as in the other. Dr. Tholuck describes the evils which this philosophy produced, as not only affecting theology most injuriously, but as extending to the physical sciences, which were despised, in comparison with abstract speculations. Man's reason became literally deified; and that sovereignty, freedom, and independence of action which belong only to the Deity, were predicated of human reason. Man was, in fact, made god by the pride and self-sufficiency of this impious philosophy.

‘Schelling followed Fichte. He proposed for his object the actual removing of all opposition between matter and spirit; according to his system, an existence is ascribed as much to the material as the immaterial world; the former being only a different mode of expression or manifestation. The spirit which thinks through these mate-



rial objects, frees them from their bonds by freeing the spirit which is in them. In so far, however, as the laws of matter are the expressions of the spirit, the latter only finds itself again when it thinks through the matter, and appropriates it to itself. The only object, therefore, of speculation on the external world is, to come to a full knowledge or consciousness of ourselves. According to these views, God cannot be regarded as a mere *é*, since this would be lifeless. If God be living, he must have an opposition in himself, the removal of which is his life; hence the unity of God has ever manifested itself in multitude and variety. The spirit manifested itself in matter, that the variety may reach the unity, and matter be freed and raised to spirit. This is the eternal activity of God. The whole business of philosophy is concerned with this point, the coming of God to self-consciousness.

‘This philosophy had the effect of spreading through Germany an element different from any that had previously prevailed. It produced a deep feeling and consciousness of a living and infinite principle in the world and in men, in nature and in spirit. It destroyed the lifeless idea of a God, who stood behind the world without having any real unity with it. It aroused men to strive after knowledge in a deeper and more effectual manner, because it did not employ itself with abstract speculation, but with intuitive views; in this respect it greatly exceeded the popular philosophy, or that of Wolf or Kant. Its influence on theology, therefore, was very great; whilst the popular philosophy and that of Kant sought to expunge everything above the reach of reason, that of Schelling again awakened the feelings for the infinite. Schelling’s philosophical works were published together in 1809, including the treatise on human liberty.—p. 603.

Frederic Henry Jacobi opposed the speculations of Kant, Fichte, and Schelling. Holding fast his faith in human liberty, personal immortality, a personal God, and the objective nature of evil; he opposed to all the previous systems the inward consciousness we have of divine things, and maintained that it was impossible, by mere speculation, to arrive at a knowledge of these subjects. He accordingly insisted, that there must be an immediate and intuitive knowledge of them, whether the intuitive perception be called reason or consciousness. This intuitive feeling, he maintained, teaches us that there is a God, who stands as *Thou* before our *ego*—something different from man. He further argued, that this intuitive power leads to the knowledge of personal liberty, personal immortality, and the objective nature of evil.

‘Whilst Jacobi presented these views, he appeared at the same time in hostility against revealed religion. He said, that historical experience was as much mediate as speculation, and, therefore, history was as unfit as speculation to afford a true knowledge of

divine things. Man can believe in an eternal free God, by merely hearing a relation concerning him; the ground of this therefore must lie in the soul itself. These views are principally expressed in the introduction to his work on divine things, in which he appears as the opponent of Claudius.

Jacobi overlooked two important points: first, he did not consider that it might be asked him, where faith in his four doctrines is to be found beyond the limits of Christianity? The whole east is destitute of it—the western philosophy knows as little about it; only weak echoings of this truth (*these truths*) are anywhere to be heard. Only a few individuals among the most cultivated of mankind, have had an indistinct knowledge of them in any period of the world. Jacobi himself borrowed them from historical Christianity, though he was ungrateful enough to deny his obligations. He cannot express himself upon this subject (*these subjects*), except in terms borrowed from the bible. It cannot, indeed, be said, that we believe these truths merely because they have been historically communicated to us, but because we are related to God; and this relation, even in our present fallen state, is not entirely destroyed, although the fall has blinded and obscured our knowledge. Tradition alone, therefore, is not the foundation of our faith, but this feeling of our relation to God. We find no where beyond the influence of the gospel, the humble temper of a servant represented as the ideal of morality. We find no such character as that of the humble Redeemer; we never meet the idea that true greatness consists in poverty of spirit. However strongly a man may believe on the ground of his own consciousness, yet he must admit, if God had not revealed himself, we should never have arrived at a knowledge of true happiness, and that a revelation was necessary to render these doctrines definite and secure. But Christianity contains something more than these four truths of Jacobi; it contains the plan of redemption; a knowledge of the purposes of God cannot be obtained by intuition, yet here is faith essential. Even admitting, therefore, the possibility of learning the truths referred to, from a different source, it does not destroy the necessity of a historical revelation.

After philosophy, in connexion with various other causes, had exercised such an influence on theology, a theological system was formed as the result of all their efforts at illumination. To this system the name of *rationalism* has been given; a name first applied by Reinhard. The system is, in fact, the same which was previously called deism. This system not only sought to obtain stability for itself, but appeared in decided hostility to Christianity. As to its tenability, it may be remarked, that the rationalist must either undertake to support his doctrines on the ground of reason and argument, or found them on feeling. If he takes the first course, he must do it after the method of the philosophy of Wolf; for that alone undertakes to establish in a demonstrative way the doctrines of God, freedom, and immortality. But the weakness of this philosophy has long since been proved. If the rationalist gives this

up, he must place himself on the foundation of feeling, on the principle of Jacobi; and this is the fact with the most of them. When he takes this ground he loses all right to contend against a believer in the bible. For he can no longer demand of him, that doctrines which are beyond the reach of reason, should be reduced to its standard, and justified before its tribunal. The rationalist must acknowledge that he cannot do this for his own doctrines of the personality of God, human liberty, &c. With the same weapons, therefore, with which he contends against the believer, he is attacked by the pantheist, against whom he cannot maintain his ground. The pantheist declares his proofs were subjective deceptions, and his doctrines anthropomorphic views. The believer in the bible can also object to the rationalist, that his deistical doctrines are drawn from Christianity, although deprived of their glory and power. And further, that this system, excluding the ideas of a revelation, divine government and redemption, presents a problem which does not admit of solution. The idea of God which rationalism contains, is borrowed from the bible; but if God really possessed all the attributes here ascribed to him, it would appear necessary that so wise and good a being should have a nearer relation to his creatures, and give them some surer guide or reference to divine things than human reason, which teaches so many various and inconsistent doctrines, and which beyond the limits of Christianity, has never yet presented the idea of God which Christian deism contains. The rationalist acknowledges the objective nature of morality; but for his certainty on this point he is indebted to revelation, and yet arbitrarily rejects the doctrine of the fall, and of redemption through Jesus Christ. In this way he is led into another difficulty. Whence is evil? The rationalist is obliged to refer it to God, that through the struggle between good and evil, the former might be promoted. Whilst the denier of a revelation makes God the author of evil, he gives no explanation of the manner in which evil can be rooted out of the heart of man. His blindness on this point arises from his having no deep and proper knowledge of good and evil. The positive part of rationalism thus consisting of Christian doctrines deprived of their glory and consistency, is equally unsatisfactory for the human heart and human understanding, particularly in reference to the doctrine of evil.

‘The rationalist undertakes, however, to prove, not only that Christianity is improbable, but that it is contrary to reason, and entirely inadmissible. In this effort its weakness is most clearly exposed. It proceeds from the principle that God never works without the intervention of secondary causes, and therefore an immediate revelation is impossible. Revelation can only be mediate, and consists of a development of what already lies in the nature of man. Hence arises the distinction between naturalism and supernaturalism; the former regarding every religious communication as mediate, consisting of the development of what is in man; the latter maintaining an immediate communication of divine truth, not derived



from the human mind itself. The rationalist assumes that God, at the beginning, formed the world as a machine, with whose powers, having once set them in motion, he never interferes. This view is, in the first place, false; but, admitting its correctness, the conclusion drawn from it by the rationalist is by no means necessary. For, granting that God does not interfere with the world, it does not follow that he cannot and will not. At most, the improbability, but not the impossibility, of an immediate revelation follows from this view.

'But the view itself is false; God is not a machinist, who, having finished his work, retires behind; the life in the universe cannot be regarded as absolutely distinct from the life of God. God continues and supports the world by a continual creation, for such in fact is preservation. The life of the world is the breath of Jehovah; its active powers, the working of his omnipresence; the laws of nature are not, therefore, fixed once and for ever. Augustine says, '*Lex naturæ est voluntas Dei, et miraculum non fit contra naturam, sed contra quam est nota natura.*' The laws of nature are mere abstractions, which men make from the usual operations of God. It can, therefore, by no means be said, that his unusual operations, as in immediate revelations and miracles, are violations of the laws of nature. There is no essential difference between immediate and mediate operations; it is merely the difference between usual and unusual. And if God would reveal himself as a living and personal being, these extraordinary operations of his power are essential, as they contain the proof that nature is not a piece of dead mechanism.

'But the rationalist also endeavours to show the improbability of a revelation upon moral principles. He says it would prove that God had made man imperfect, if later communications and revelations were necessary. But in this objection it is overlooked that man is not now, as he was originally created. In his primitive state, an immediate revelation might not have been necessary, but in his fallen state the case is essentially different. The rationalist further demands, Why was the revelation not made immediately after the fall, before so many generations had passed away? To this we may answer, that God appears to have determined to conduct and educate the whole race as one individual, and in the idea of education lies that of gradual progress.

'Finally, it is objected that the revelation is not universal. In answer to this we may say, that the difficulty presses the deist as much as the Christian, because it affects the doctrine of providence. The deist makes (*natural*) religion and refinement the greatest blessings of men; but why has God left so many ages and nations destitute of these blessings? If the deist must confess his ignorance upon this point, why may not the Christian? Besides this, Christians themselves are to blame, that the revelation has not been more extensively spread; why have they only within a few years awaked to the importance of this work? And why do the rationalists, of all others, take the least interest in it?'—pp. 599, and *seq.*

These passages, selected from the concluding sections of Dr. Tholuck's lectures, will give the reader some faint idea of the superlative excellence and value of the whole. But the volume contains many equally important and valuable articles. We beg especially to call attention to a very elaborate and able review of Transcendentalism, extending to about ninety pages. It thoroughly exposes the pantheistic tendency of the various schemes of philosophy promulgated in Germany by its leading sages. It does so by a full and free examination of their works. The direful consequences which have appeared in the spread of infidelity and atheism, both in Germany and France, are held up as a solemn warning both to America and England. The warning is highly seasonable, and will, we trust, not be without effect in opening the eyes of our young divines to the fearful abyss of atheism, into which the German philosophers have plunged. Even the deeply-learned and eloquent Victor Cousin, whose Introduction to the History of Philosophy has been praised and recommended by parties who ought to have detected and branded its absurdities and impieties, is clearly shown to teach pantheism, which is but an old form of atheism; and the entire system of the fashionable philosophy both of Germany and France, is shown to be nothing more than a new edition of Buddhism adjusted to the modern mind. The article in the volume before us expresses considerable alarm at the spread of these systems among the speculators of America. We hope, however, that the efforts made in Germany and elsewhere, which have not been without effect, will prove useful in America, where more attention is paid to the speculations of the Continent than in England. For ourselves and the Christianity of our own country, we must say we are not greatly alarmed at the new philosophy. Individuals may be fascinated by eloquent but empty pretensions. The English mind is too practical and is too familiar with the history of the growth and decay of philosophical systems, to be seduced extensively into the belief that any of them are destined to perpetuity, or are worth the price they demand of renouncing our faith in Christianity. They may serve their purpose of spreading the name of a self-idolized mortal upon all the winds of fame, but time will produce revolutions and transitions in all these novelties, which will place them among the accumulated rubbish of bygone ages—the day dreams of vain and erring men, who have only walked their hour of busy life in the sparks themselves had kindled, hoping to eclipse the orb of day—the fount of light divine, which will still shine for future ages as it does for this, to guide the otherwise benighted pilgrims to their joyful immortality. We ought not to conclude without stating, that the articles

contained in this volume are the following:—1. The Rule or Faith; 2. The Sonship of Christ; 3. The Decrees of God; 4. The Early History of Pelagianism; 5. Original Sin; 6, 7, 8, The Doctrine of Imputation; 9. Melancthon on the Nature of Sin; 10. Doctrines of the Early Socinians; 11. The Power of Contrary Choice; 12. The Inability of Sinners; 13. The New Divinity Tried; 14. Beman on the Atonement; 15. Sacramental Absolution; 16. Regeneration; 17. Sanctification; 18. Transubstantiation; 19. Sunday Mails; 20. Bodily Effects of Religious Excitement; 21. Tholuck's History of Theology, (in the eighteenth century); 22. Transcendentalism; 23. Cause and Effect.

We most cordially welcome and recommend the volume as a valuable accession to the theological library, though we must say, it is not so free from errors of the press as it ought to have been.

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Art. V.—*Elements of Physics*. By C. F. Peschel, Principal of the Royal Military College, at Dresden, &c., &c. Translated from the German, with Notes, by E. West. 3 vols. foolscap 8vo. Longman and Co., 2nd and 3rd vols.

On the appearance of the first of these volumes, which treats of the physical properties of bodies having weight, we gave a short account of it, and expressed a hope that the remaining volumes would shortly appear, as the plan of the entire work was well adapted to meet the wants of philosophical enquirers. We are therefore glad to learn from the translator's preface, that the rapid sale of the first volume, and the demand for the others, have induced the publishers to expedite the appearance of those now before us.

The subject of these volumes is 'Imponderable substances or etherial powers in general;' these are classified generally into *light, heat, and electricity*.

The nature, properties, and effects of light constitute the science of optics, which occupies 140 pages of the second volume. The two theories of light, viz. *emanation*, or the *corpuscular theory*, which was employed by *Newton*, and followed by *Biot* and *Laplace*, and the *undulatory theory*, the hypothesis of *Descartes*, which has been adopted by *Dr. Young*, *Fresnell*, *Herschel*, and several other eminent philosophers, are both stated, and partially illustrated, but as the principal phenomena are susceptible of explanation on either hypothesis (though some cases can be more readily illustrated by one than by the other), the author, has wisely abstained from showing himself the



partizan of either. That portion of the work which is devoted to the investigation of the propagation, refraction, and reflection of light; the properties of mirrors and lenses; and the construction of optical and astronomical instruments, is clear and concise, while the investigation of formulæ for determining the foci of concave and convex mirrors, and also of the several descriptions of lenses, is simple and conclusive, and easily intelligible to those who have but a moderate knowledge of mathematics. The remaining chapters of this part of the work are devoted to the consideration of the interference, diffraction, and polarization of light, also double refraction, and the chromatic phenomena of polarized light. This part of the subject is of modern discovery and is highly interesting. The author has been happy in selecting from the voluminous writings of modern philosophers the most prominent and interesting parts of the subject, and has explained them so clearly as to make this difficult subject intelligible to ordinary capacities. We recommend this portion of his work to the careful perusal of our readers.

Section 2 of the second volume treats of heat in general, sensible and latent, and of its sources, propagation, radiation, and conduction; its effect on bodies in changing their form, altering their dimensions, and the various scientific applications of these properties to useful purposes. The conversion of liquids into highly elastic vapour, leads to the consideration of the nature, properties, and force of steam, and its efficiency as a motive power, which brings under review the construction and working of a steam engine. This is as well described as the limits of the work would allow. We take leave to suggest to the author or translator, when a second edition is required, that a description of a locomotive engine be added, and the working of it explained.

The construction and graduation of *thermometers*, and the application of those useful instruments, are very clearly described. Several useful tables will be found in this section, all of which have been judiciously reduced by the translator to Fahrenheit's scale, the numbers of the centigrade division being put in juxtaposition.

The chemical formulæ (mathematically expressed) will also be useful.

The third section of this volume treats of magnetism in general: the singular properties of the loadstone, or the natural magnet, are described, as well as the method of communicating magnetism to bars of steel or iron. Polarity and the laws of attraction and repulsion of dissimilar and similar poles, are fully explained. The most valuable and important property of magnets, however, is their directive tendency; and in connection

with terrestrial magnetism, the dip of the needle as applicable to the purposes of navigation.

If the magnetic axis of the earth coincided with the axis of rotation, the magnetic needle would in all situations point to the North and South Poles. At the equator it would stand horizontal, at the poles vertical, and at intermediate places its dip would be proportionate to the latitude of the place of observation, but as this is not the case, the magnetic needle shows in different situations different quantities of declination, or variation, and the dip is not determinable by the latitude of the place. This circumstance would seem to impair the value of the needle as a directive instrument, but by mathematical processes the amount and direction of the deviation can be exactly computed; the observations can thence be corrected, and the full value of the instrument completely realized. M. Peschel appears to have consulted all the principal authorities on the subjects treated of, and ascribes to each his proper measure of credit. He has, however, omitted to notice the circumstances under which the dip of the needle was first discovered, and as the account is somewhat interesting, we quote it from an old work published in 1576, by Robert Norman, compass maker at Wapping, and called 'Newe Attractive.'

'Hauing made many and diuers compasses, and using alwaies to finish and end them before I touched the needle, I found continually, that after I had touched the yrons with the stone, that presently the north point thereof would bend, or *decline*, downwards under the horizon in some quantitie: insomuch that to the flie of the compasse, which before was made equall, I was still constrained to put some small piece of waxe in the south part thereof, to counterpoise this *declining*, and to make it equal againe, which effect hauing many times passed my hands without any regard there unto, as ignorant of any such propertie in the stone, and not before hauing heard nor read of any such matter. It chaunced at length that there came to my hands an instrument to bee made with a needle of sixe inches long, which needle after I had pollished, cut off at just length, and made it to stand leuell upon the pinne, so that nothing rested but onely the touching of it with the stone: when I had touched the same, presently the north part thereof *declined* downe in such sort, that being constrayned to cut away some of that part, to make it equall againe, in the end I cut it too short, and so spoyled the needle wherein I had taken so much paynes.

'Hereby being stroken in some choller, I applyed myself to seek further into this effect, and making certayne learned and expert men (my friends) acquainted in this matter, they advised me to frame some instrument to make some exact tryal how much the needle touched with the stone would *decline*, or what greatest angle it would

make with the plane of the horizon. Whereupon I made diligent proofs, &c.'

The annual and daily variations in the declination and dip of the magnetic needle have of late years been regarded of great importance, and magnetic observations are now almost as numerous as astronomical ones, and are regarded with an equal degree of interest. The details of the experiments, and of the results obtained by several of the most eminent European philosophers, will be found in this section of the work.

The subject of the last chapter of this section is, 'The artificial production of magnetism, the means of exciting and increasing it, and the different methods by which to enfeeble or destroy it altogether.' This is illustrated by numerous and highly satisfactory experiments.

We proceed to notice the third volume, which treats of *electricity*, *electro-magnetism*, and *magneto electricity*. The two latter divisions of the subject may be regarded as modern sciences, being founded on discoveries made within the present century.

The phenomena of electricity, like those of light, are the subject of two distinct theories. Some philosophers, as Franklin and Priestley, maintaining that there are two kinds of electricity, which they call vitrious and resinous, while the moderns, as Faraday, and others, assert that there is but one, and that the phenomena result from the excess, or deficiency of it in the body acted on. The states of the body in relation to electricity are designated *plus* or *minus*. Much controversy has arisen on the subject of these theories among modern philosophers, without, however, any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at. As in general the phenomena may be explained on either theory, the fact, in itself, affords only a presumptive proof of the hypothesis adopted. The author candidly and clearly states both theories, but as he appears to be more anxious to develop principles, and establish facts, than to exhibit himself as the advocate of a philosophical creed, he dismisses the subject very cursorily, and proceeds at once to an exposition of electrical phenomena in general. The whole subject, including most of the discoveries made by Volta, Woolaston, Davy, Faraday, etc., together with descriptions of improved apparatus, and of many interesting experiments, is (without sacrifice of perspicuity) condensed into one hundred and eighty-six pages. We had proposed to give an analysis of this portion of the work, but the heads of reference were found so numerous, the subjects so interesting, and the account given so concise, though clear, that to analyze would be to transcribe the greater portion of the work. We must therefore content ourselves with referring to the work itself. Section



V., which is the last portion of the work, is on *electro dynamics*, a subject, as before stated, altogether the result of modern discovery. The first germ of this science was produced by Professor Oersted, of Copenhagen, as appears by the following extracts :

‘Ritter and Yelin, in the last century, threw out some conjectures as to the internal connexion between electricity and magnetism, and their probable identity ; but it was not until 1820 that Oersted, of Copenhagen, discovered the first effects of an electro-magnetic, and in 1832, Faraday those of a magneto-electric character.

‘The first discovery made by Oersted, by which the road to this fertile field of science was first laid open to philosophers, consisted in this ; that an *electric current transmitted near to a magnetic needle deflects it from its normal position*. This deflexion, which at first seemed either to occur or fail in a manner altogether peculiar and uncertain, was found, on closer examination, to obey a universal and unvarying law ; which is thus expressed in Ampère’s brief and universal terms : *That the north pole of a magnet is invariably deflected to the left of the current which passes between the needle and the observer, who is to have his face towards the needle, the electric current being supposed to enter near his feet, and to pass out near his head*.

‘No discovery in natural science excited more general and lively interest than Oersted’s. The most distinguished philosophers throughout the world recognised its importance, and endeavoured, by repeating and varying its experiments, to trace still further this extraordinary property of electricity. They hoped, by means of Oersted’s fundamental experiments, they should be enabled to unravel the mystery in which the connexion between electricity and magnetism had hitherto been shrouded. New facts were sought for experimentally, which might serve as indisputable evidence of the identity of electricity and magnetism, or from which it might be proved that both were merely modifications of the same fundamental force. Although the object thus earnestly desired has not yet been attained, the active spirit of inquiry that has been called forth has led to important and approximating conclusions. Ampère, who considered Oersted’s experiments from a point of view common to them all, selected *the mutual relation of electric currents to each other* for the special subject of his investigations. He was led to the important discovery *that the electricities in a state of motion, i.e., as electric currents, act attractively and repulsively on each other according to a certain law, in a manner resembling the polar attraction of statical electricity, i.e. of electricity in a state of tension.*’

From the period of Oersted’s discovery to the present time, the transactions of learned societies, scientific memoirs, and journals of science, have abounded with the researches and discoveries of the most eminent philosophers of modern times, indeed there are few men of any scientific character but have

devoted much attention to this important subject. Many and important are the practical results of these inquiries, among which may be named, as not the least, the electric telegraph. The author of this little work has shown himself to be a man of considerable acuteness, of great industry, and of consummate skill in searching out and arranging, with much scientific consecutiveness, the vast array of facts he has brought together, derived from such voluminous and wide-spread sources.

The work, though consisting only of three small volumes, may be regarded as a *magazine* of scientific facts alike valuable to the adept and the student. Mr. West has done good service to the English reader by presenting it to him in his native tongue. We thank him for his labour, and shall be glad to find that the public continues to appreciate it aright.

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Art. VI.—*'Every Eye shall see Him;'* or, *Prince Albert's Visit to Liverpool, used in Illustration of the Second Coming of Christ. A Sermon, preached in Saint Jude's Church, on the second day of August, 1846, the Sunday next after the Prince's visit.* By the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, M.A., Hon. Canon of Chester, and Incumbent of St. Jude's, Liverpool. (Published by desire, for the Liverpool Sailor's Home.) Third Edition. London: John Hatchard and Son.

It is not our custom to notice single sermons. The peculiarity of this one must be our excuse. It is little likely to become a precedent. Nor is it any pleasure to us to speak, as we must speak, of this production. Mr. M'Neile is a man, in many respects, worthy of honour. We differ widely from him on some important subjects, but we believe him honest, able, and desirous to do good. He has, and deserves to have, great influence. But while this makes our present task painful, it, at the same time, urges us to its performance. Bad practices, as bad systems, find the best and strongest support in good men, and the fly in the pot of ointment is the worse for being *there*. Masters of Arts, and Hon. Canons, must not be allowed to commit 'folly in Israel.'

It is easy to understand that this sermon 'is far from what the author could wish.' But we cannot admit the confession of imperfection as an excuse for publishing. Before authors can employ such a plea, they ought to shew that publication is necessary. It is true that in the present instance it was solicited. The idea of taking advantage of popular excitement to obtain some addition of funds to an institution, was too pleasant

to be given up. Many would buy the sermon, not because they cared about the second coming of Christ, but because they had seen the Prince, and to 'catch them with guile,' seemed a union of wisdom and humanity. But Aaron must not obey the people's folly, and if 'there come out this calf,' he may not expect freedom from censure, though they are 'plagued because they made the calf which he made.'

The pulpit ought to be the type and the promoter of sound sense, sound sentiment, and sound taste. We know that the cause of Christianity is not dependent on the alliance of these desirable things. God can do, and has done, without them; but, to adopt a thought of Dr. South, if he do not need men's parts and polish, he needs still less their weakness, coarseness, and 'ill behaviour.' And we have a right to expect, as well as to desire, that the ministrations of the sanctuary shall be in keeping with a healthy intellect, and a real refinement, when conducted by men who profess to have received a thorough education, and are surrounded by associations that are fain to look down upon 'this people that know not the law.' Regarded in any light in which a sermon, and especially a sermon of such a man, can be regarded, Mr. M'Neile's production must occasion bitter distress to every well constituted and well disciplined mind.

It is not our intention to dissect its contents. Chiefly occupied with an exposition of the passage from which the text, 'Thine eye shall see the King in his beauty,' (Isaiah xxxiii. 17) is selected, it contains some views that appear to us unsound; indeed, we more than question the explanation given of the text itself. But taken as a whole, we feel that such preaching is very far indeed below the standard of thought which is required, and would be appreciated, by the people of this country. What such men as Mr. M'Neile have apparently yet to learn, is, that they should preach *up to* the people, and not *down to* them. We are convinced that the estimate formed, not, perhaps, of their attainments, but of their capabilities, is exceedingly defective. It is a mistake, a miserable mistake to suppose that strong and manly sentiment, and powerful reasoning, are out of place in the sanctuary. Anything else will soon effect a divorce between the evangelism of our country and its intellect. The working men, and the educated youth, of these times are in the habit of exercising their understandings every day of the week with matter that must disincline them to put up with the preaching of which this sermon may be taken as a type. And are they to be neglected and lost, and the permanent results which would follow their sanctification by the truth, to be sacrificed, for the sake of pleasing, not profiting, the silly crowds who



idolize the fine voice and figure, and deem religion to be, among other things, a refuge from severe mental toil?

But leaving this, in common with all who have a due reverence for sacred things, and a deep interest in their obtaining the reverence of their fellow-creatures, we must protest against the mode in which Mr. M'Neile seeks to commemorate the occasion referred to in his sermon. It is not the first time that he has done disservice to truth by a want of judgment and of taste that would be unpardonable in one of far meaner pretensions.\* There are some men that seem naturally incapable of perceiving what is fitting and appropriate. They cannot discern the line that separates sublimity from nonsense, the prudent from the pernicious. In adapting truth, as they think, to different occasions and capacities, they sacrifice it. They sink the high to a level with the low, instead of raising the low to a level with the high. Truth, in their keeping, traverses the mean scenes and associations of men, not like a nature of noble powers and impulses, elevating and sanctifying all with which it meets, but like a nature of unworthy tendencies, yielding to the corrupting influences by which it is surrounded. When we listen to the teaching of Jesus Christ, familiar and common as are the events and objects by which he illustrates his high and holy doctrine, we never feel that his doctrine is degraded, but always that it assumes a richer grace. How unlike that wise and elevated teaching, elevated in its very condescension, is the following:—

'We have just witnessed a stirring scene; and, to all who will take the trouble of reflecting seriously, a very instructive one. A promise was held out to our great town that our eyes should behold the prince; and what were the consequences? Preparations of every description, eager, animated, costly; scaffoldings and stands erected; balconies strengthened; the ordinary occupations of life suspended; countless multitudes congregated; trades, professions, associations, with their appropriate emblems; civic authorities, bearing the badges of state; generals and admirals, exhibiting the insignia of war; consecrated ambassadors of the gospel of peace' (very suitable conjunction!); 'the bridegroom from his chamber; the bride out of her closet; old men and maidens, young men and children, all on tiptoe, with outstretched necks and eager eyes, to see the prince in his beauty; the prince, the assessor, and, on this occasion, the manifestor of royalty. It was a scene well calculated to illustrate and impress the great revealed truth, that the kingly office upon earth is at once an ordinance and an image of the authority and majesty of God.

\* In the miserably mismanaged Liverpool Unitarian controversy, our complaint of which, arising from our jealous care for orthodoxy, was imputed, in some quarters, to less creditable motives, Mr. M'Neile failed in

'When I saw the universal movement; when I heard on every side the bustle of expectation; when I overheard on the right hand and on the left the bursting apostrophe, 'He is coming!' 'He is here!' I felt deeply what it seems to have been the apostle's great object to impress upon the Christian church with reference to the second coming of Christ. Behold, He cometh, go ye out to meet Him. Every eye shall see Him. What manner of persons ought ye to be, looking for and hastening unto the coming of the day of God. I thought also of the sweet and precious promises made to his faithful friends, that they shall see and rejoice in his glory and his beauty; in that day when He shall appear, not to lay the foundation stone, (that has been done long since, and once for all,) but to bring forth the crowning topstone of his temple, with shoutings of 'Grace, grace unto it!'—pp. 1, 2.

There can be no objection to the seizing upon remarkable, any more than upon common, occurrences for the purpose of exemplifying and enforcing spiritual truth. But nothing requires greater care and skill, not only to attain success, but to avoid the opposite result of positive mischief. Two conditions are indispensable to the wise spiritualizing of things secular; there should be some peculiar appropriateness in the things selected for this purpose to the end proposed, and there should be such a management of the process as ought naturally, and in strict propriety, to leave no impression adverse to the truth

these respects. Speaking of the moral differences that appear among men, he said:—

'This is illustrated by the method of obtaining flowers of different colours on the same stem, which is thus described:—

'Split a small twig of the elder bush lengthways, and having scooped out the pith, fill each of the compartments with seeds of different sorts, but which blossom about the same time. Surround them with mould, and then tying together the two bits of wood, plant the whole in a pot filled with earth properly prepared. The stems of the different flowers will thus be so incorporated as to exhibit to the eye only one stem, throwing out branches covered with flowers of various hues, analagous to the seed which produced them!

'Adam was this elder bush. The devil scooped out his pith, the life and power of his original holiness in which he served God; and filled each of the compartments of his nature with evil seeds, of different sorts, which all blossomed at the same time. And thus, as from one compound stem, we may have flowers of divers colours; so from one compound source, the sin of Adam, we have iniquities of every varying degree of malignity, propagated throughout the whole world. When that plant, of Satan's right hand planting, had taken root: that worse than hemlock, that plant from the bottomless pit, impregnated with poison for eternity: it sprung up, it blossomed, it seeded, and the 'prince of the power of the air' carried those noxious seeds, and strewed them to the ends of the earth,' etc. etc. (*Unitarianism Confuted*, pp. 309, 310.) What theology—what philosophy—what accuracy of figure—what delicacy of sentiment—and this in a controversial lecture, and one of a course to be answered by Mr. Martineau, etc!



sought to be conveyed and commended. In both these respects Mr. M'Neile appears to us to have failed. Between Prince Albert's visit to Liverpool, and the second coming of Christ, there was no such resemblance as could save his selected task from the appearance of extreme arbitrariness and awkwardness. We must, with all due respect for royalty, account the prince not worthy to be named as the representative of Jesus Christ; travelling by a railway-train, a miserable setting forth of an advent in the clouds of heaven; the procession and parade of civic and commercial pomp, a mean and meagre image of 'the glorious appearing of the Great God;' and the laying of a foundation-stone no symbol at all of eternal judgment. It is just to Mr. M'Neile to say, that he does not draw a formal parallel between the two events. He finds no similitudes besides those of a great crowd, and 'the Prince in his beauty,' and because he could find no more, his choice of subject was at fault. The little that he says upon them—the title of the sermon being anything but a fair indication of its matter—is not at all adapted to inspire the feelings with which the future revelation of the Judge of quick and dead ought to be looked for. We do not question the piety of the author's purpose, nor the wisdom of the general principle on which he proceeds, our complaint is of the injudiciousness of his course.

The tone of his remarks is often more in harmony with the fulsome adulation of royalty than the solemn proclamation of the coming of Christ. Whatever may be fitting in a courtier, it does not seem to us that 'a man of God,' and especially when engaged in persuading men by the terrors of the Lord, should be able to employ the terms of laudation in which the 'prince in his beauty,' 'the prince, the assessor and manifester of royalty,' the 'noble, amiable, and beloved prince,' whose office is 'at once an ordinance and an image of the authority and majesty of God,' and who, 'touched by the magnificence' of what he witnessed at Liverpool, 'was graciously pleased to say, that the splendid scene should never be erased from his memory,' is referred to in this sermon. If anything can lower the dignity, and weaken the effect, of the Christian ministry, the use of flattering words respecting men in high places must secure that undesirable result.

In the third edition of his sermon, Mr. M'Neile has noticed some of the severe remarks which it has called forth. With his defence we have little or rather no concern. Without justifying his title, it would never enter our minds to accuse or suspect him of 'blasphemy;' and, without approving the use of Prince Albert's visit 'in illustration of the second coming of Christ,' we cannot object to the sanctification of ordinary or



extraordinary events to the purposes of religious instruction. We have no doubt that occasion has been taken from this unfortunate publication to indulge a political and religious dislike of our author. Every man who speaks out his whole mind on all kinds of subjects, as he is in the habit of doing, may expect to meet with misrepresentation and calumny. Mr. M'Neile has had his share of these things. But this only makes it more necessary that he should not 'give occasion' to those who seek occasion to laugh or frown. Christian ministers may not be able to prevent the hatred of ungodly men, but *they* are charged not *to be* despised.

Might we add one word to Mr. M'Neile, we should respectfully advise him to 'walk in more wisdom toward them that are without,' taking greater heed that his 'good' be 'not evil spoken of.' Let him 'keep his mouth with a *bridle*,' because of the 'wicked.' Let him abstain from the fanciful, the extravagant, and the injudicious, as well as the grosser faults of public ministrations. He can do better things than this, and can do them better. What he has done, ought not, in our sober conviction, to be done at all, and, if it ought, a third or fourth rate local preacher would achieve it with superior ingenuity and effect.

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Art. VII.—1. *Die Wahlverwandschaften (The Elective Affinities)*. By Joh. W. von Goëthe.

2. *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre. (Wilh. Meister's Apprenticeship.)*

3. *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre. (Wilh. Meister's Travelling Years)*. Stuttgart and Tübingen.

THE Germans, next to the Britons, are distinguished as having produced the most celebrated authors in that branch of polite literature, which is generally termed the romance or novel. This assertion will be sufficiently confirmed by comparing, both as to quality and quantity, the catalogues that appear yearly at the fair of Leipzig, and other towns of Germany, and which may be met with in every library of note, both at home and abroad. The mass of books thus produced for the amusement and instruction of the people, is really enormous; and on this account, it almost necessarily follows, that there must be in so large an accumulation a mixture of good and bad productions. In order, however, to form a just estimate as to the real merits of this department of literature, as it at present exists in Germany, it will be well to examine

those of an earlier date, to see out of what slender sources the more recent condition of such literature has been evolved.

The German history of fiction, or simply the German novel, may be considered as having arisen out of the multitude of legendary, allegorical, and historical poems, which had been produced up to the close of the fifteenth century. These, with similar other productions, such as ballads, etc., began at this period to be rendered into prose; and it was only within the last two centuries, but more especially within the last sixty or seventy years, that the German novel assumed that moral character and form, which now so favourably distinguishes it from similar creations of other countries, especially those of France and Italy. Up to the former period, the romance in Germany, (with the exception of 'Iwain,' 'Wigolis von Rade,' etc., which are purely German works,) chiefly consisted of stale romances of chivalry, nursery tales and legends, which were translated from the Italian, French, and Latin. Such were the 'Tales' of Troya, Alexander, Amadis, etc.; the favourite books of the day, however, were 'Doctor Faustus,' and 'The Duke of Luxemburg,' which were soon followed by many others, among which deserve to be mentioned, 'Till Eulenspiegel,' or 'Tyl Howleglass,' and 'Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew.' About the year 1598, there appeared one of those productions, which seem to be wholly unlimited in the sphere of their action. This was a work entitled, the 'Lustige und lächerliche Lallenburg, oder die Schildbürger.' Some consider it in the light of a national satire, whereas others look upon it as an extremely humorous and comic novel. Be this as it may, it is certain, that few romances have earned the praise which has been and still is so justly bestowed on this admirable performance. It affords in the most delightful manner an exquisite and highly correct picture of the governmental constitution, and of the petitemaitreship practised in those days in every town and village, throughout Germany. It was also at this time that there appeared the so-called 'Adventurous Popular Romances,' a species of light and amusing reading, which has remained even until this day a great favourite with almost all the lower classes of Germany. The most remarkable of these romances are, 'Die schöne Melusine,' 'Herzog Ernst von Baiern,' 'Fortunati Wünschhütlein,' 'Das Buch der Liebe,' 'Die schöne Magellone,' 'Der gehörnte Siegfried,' 'Kaiser Octavianus,' 'Die geduldige Helena,' 'Die heilige Genoveva,' 'Ida Gräfin von Toggenburg,' 'Der edle Finkenritter,' 'Hans guck in die Welt,' which is perhaps the best of the whole; 'Die vier Haimonskinder,' 'Die schöne Historie von den sieben weisen Meistern,' and 'Die über die Bosheit triumphirende Unschuld Hirlanda.'

But a sudden change now took place in the taste of the Germans, which was owing partly to the productions of the Castilian poet, George de Montemajor, and partly to those of Sir Philip Sidney. Through the 'Diana' of the former, and the 'Arcadia' of the latter, the Germans became acquainted with the so-called 'Pastorals, or Bucolics,' which gave rise to Neumark's 'Filamon,' a tale as bombastic and stiff, as it is unnatural, and to 'Herculinus and Herculista.' The latter, written as its author says, for 'modest Christian readers,' appeared in the year 1659, and contains innumerable prayers, and rather good sacred hymns, and was the produce of a pious clergyman named Buchholz. The author's aim was evidently to counteract the mania which raged at the time, for demoralizing 'romances chevaleresques.' An exceedingly flowery, or rather bombastic style, —in those days termed 'brilliant,' —excepted, the book possesses many features, which even now entitle it to a careful perusal. Of a similar character is Samuel Greifensohn von Hischberg's famous 'Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus,' which the author, a soldier, produced during the thirty years' war. In it he has given a superb and exact picture of the state of Germany during that period. Though one of the most stirring novels, yet, like the former, this 'Simplicissimus' is not wholly free from a high-strained pathos, and an unnatural lusciousness of language or expression.

Not long after this change, there arose two men—Hoffmannswaldau and Lohenstein—who, by their productions laid the foundation of 'Heroic' romance. The first novel of this kind was Lohenstein's 'Arminius und Thusnelda,' which had been preceded by 'Aramena' and 'Octavia,' both of which tales boasted the parentage of Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig, 'Ibrahim,' written by Von Zesen, etc. All these, however, were outdone by the famous 'Asiatische Banise' of Ziegler. This author, who had been the universal favourite, committed the greatest sins imaginable in the way of exaggeration, and attained the acmè of bombastic style in this romance, which, with all its faults and exaggerations, may be found nevertheless among the lower classes of Germany, with whom it seems to be an especial favourite. The most fertile novelist of that period was Talander, or August Bohn, who is said to have composed between twenty and thirty novels. Yet these were rather love-stories, and were written especially for ladies, than novels, as may be clearly seen by the title of one of them: 'The Cabinet of Love for the Fair Sex.' From this fact it will appear evident, that love-stories, properly speaking, written for the fair sex, are of a much earlier date than the present day. Another novel writer of the same



school, was Happel of Marburg, who produced some of the most insipid and intolerable romantic caricatures possible, with titles so bombastic as to excite derision.

A great improvement in the public taste was produced by the works of Schnabel. This distinguished author, wrote in the early part of the eighteenth century, his celebrated novel 'The island Felsenburg,' a work, which has been very recently edited by L. Tieck, and entirely recast by the great Danish romancist Cehlenschläger. At the time of its appearance it was imitated by a host of German novelists, and subsequently laid the foundation of the so-called 'Robinsonade,' a species of tales, which maintained their rank among the German narratives for nearly half a century, and which thereby gave rise to many very excellent productions of the famous author Campe.

The well-known fabulist Gellert, wrote during this period a novel, entitled the 'Swedish Countess,' which is considered nevertheless a work of very moderate powers. But he, as well as a great many others, was compelled to give way to a mass of British authors, who now, for the first time, were introduced into Germany. Their extraordinary genius was acknowledged by the Germans, and exercised considerable influence over their literature. The greater portion of these writers, if not all, were translated, and their style imitated as closely as possible. The English writers who produced the greatest effect upon the German mind were Shakespeare, Young, Sterne, Smollett, Pope, Swift, Richardson, Fielding, and Goldsmith. Among the Germans who at this period had the greatest influence upon the intellect of the nation, especially that of the fair sex, and above all upon the more educated class of ladies, was John Hermes, Provost at Breslaw. A close imitator of Richardson, his first novel was entitled 'Fanny Wilkes,' which was devoured by all classes of society, and became as great a favourite with the German ladies, as Richardson's 'Clarissa' had been with those of England. The novel itself contains many fine and noble features, and is one of the liveliest and most charming books imaginable, describing in a masterly manner the customs and characters of the age. This was followed by 'Sophia's Tour from Memel to Saxony,' a work of a rather witty turn, containing many admirable views of human life, and traits of the highest practical truths. Some of this author's other novels, such as 'Hermine,' etc. as well as all those in which he especially addresses the daughters of 'noble' extraction, and the ladies generally, were of a similar tendency, whilst others were of a much inferior kind. On the whole, however, Hermes was at that time to Germany, what Richardson had been to England.

Contemporaneously with, and similar in style and powers of invention to Hermes, were Madame La Roche, and Professor Dusch, both of whom wrote for the public with more or less success. But classical novels of the highest order were written at this time by the celebrated scholar Wieland. A pure, flowing, and charming language, combined with much practical experience, cheerfulness, good humour, grace and amiability, are the chief features of his romantic productions. Wieland has been styled the 'German Voltaire,' but this title confers on him in our judgment, no particular honour. Voltaire, may be regarded as possessing more satirical wit and lightness; but Wieland is decidedly his superior in genius and solid learning. In whatever light the Frenchman's creations are regarded, a dozen ideas borrowed from Bayle, constitute all the learning which can be discovered in the course of more than a hundred volumes.

Goëthe and Klinger (of whom hereafter) appeared, and with them the first golden rays of that rising sun, which was to shed its imperishable lustre over the romantic literature of Germany. This was effected by creations of the liveliest, most brilliant and charming fancies. Fire and energy, in works replete with poetic beauties, grandeur, and philosophical truths, combined with a rich vein of humour, and now and then a colouring of a deeper hue, contributed much to wipe away those tears which were the consequence of the unnatural sentimentality then prevailing.

But these great men—at least at first—carried things rather too far, so that their productions, which, in the beginning, were calculated to eradicate prevailing evils, and, to a certain extent, produced that effect, had nearly proved as great a calamity as the existing evils themselves. Germany, overwhelmed by the most unnatural sentimentalism, seemed to have become the prey of the sickliest effeminacy from within, and of a Gallo and Anglomania from without, on which account it was deemed high time that something should be done towards curing a disease which was spreading daily, and which threatened the health of the German mind with utter destruction. Jerusalem, an enthusiast, and intimate friend of Goëthe, and an unfortunate lover to boot, having destroyed himself at a place called Wetzlar, in consequence of an ill-fated attachment, Goëthe, in a state of great mental excitement, which almost involved his own ruin, wrote a work entitled 'Werther's Leiden,' a creation in which, under the name of Werther, he immortalized his hapless friend. For poetic beauties and an enthusiastic spirit, this work has few equals, and at the time we are speaking of, it created quite a *furor*. And well might it have been so. Love, with all its powers and charms, with all its joys and sorrows, expressed in the most passionate and enchanting lan-

guage, was abundantly suited to enrapture and to unsettle the mind of those already beneath its influence, and to make every one of them feel desirous of an end similar to that of the ill-fated Werther. And yet it was this very work which contributed in no slight degree to a revolution in the world of German letters, and 'belletristic' literature.

We may here speak of the other chief romantic productions of this author, though we shall have again to refer to him. The next romance of note which Goëthe wrote is his celebrated 'Wahlverwandschaften,' a work which may be described as ranking among the finest specimens of its class, and as being perhaps unequalled for its profound and clear ideas, for a pure and disinterested attachment, couched in language as elegant and finished, as it is energetic and powerful. But Goëthe's triumph is a novel entitled 'Wilhelm Meister's Lehr-und Wanderjahre,' which is, beyond all doubt, his master-piece. It is the most elaborate, as well as the most finished, and to a certain degree, a signal triumph of prose over poetry. The invention or plot, order and finish, the characters, incidents and scenery, are as perfect as they are brilliant. The whole work is a mass of the deepest thoughts, of the clearest and soundest judgments, and of the most entrancing eloquence. It is—to use the famous Zelter's expressions—no romance, it is the world, the 'little-great' and 'great-little' world, in which we find ourselves, our instincts, and our follies, pourtrayed in an admirable manner by the pencil of a master. This work, next to Faust, is Goëthe's most original, most perfect production, because it is with all its incidents, practical experience, and philosophical truths, a precise and exact copy of the great man himself.

We have seen how matters stood, at the time that Goëthe wrote the 'Sorrows of Werther,' and the necessity that existed for a speedy cure of the prevailing disease. Musæus and Trimm, two most brilliant satirical writers, appeared on the stage, the former with his 'German Grandison, or Grandison II.,' and the latter with his 'Marcus Puneratius Cyprianus Curt, called the Sentimentalist,' who, by means of these and similar satirical writings, made a sad havoc among the childish sentimentalists around. But innumerable others, also, both moral and satirical, now began to oppose this overwhelming stream by means of highly meritorious works, which acted most beneficially upon the heroes and heroines of the moon. For, heartily ridiculed, and otherwise laughed at, the number of the Siegwarts and Mariannas (the hero and heroine of 'Siegfried von Felsenberg,' a novel, written by Müller, and similar to Goëthe's 'Werther'), the Herforts and Claras, the Werthers and Charlottes, the Carls and Emilies, visibly decreased daily, or made



these love-sick people fall into another extreme, by giving up the phantom of an ideal affection for one of a more substantial character. Whether or not, they have profited by this exchange, it is no affair of ours to determine.

Among the sentimental and would-be historical novels, that were particularly calculated to unsettle the mind of the young of both sexes, were those of the then much admired Professor Meissner, for example, his 'Bianca Capello,' 'Alcibiades,' 'Epaminondas,' 'Spartacus,' 'Cæsar,' 'Masaniello,' and some others, which not unfrequently were looked upon as the *ne plus ultra* of historical romances. That they contain some fair points, cannot be disputed; but on the whole they are very trivial; and it is perhaps for this reason, as Menzel says, that they became popular. There were furthermore the novels, 'Clara von Hoheneichen,' 'Petermännchen,' 'Die zwölf schlafenden Jungfrauen,' 'Benno von Elsenburg,' etc., by Spiess; all of which are scarcely more than a tirade on patience, human sufferings, and human foibles, and yet in those days they were considered as productions of surpassing beauty. But even these, notwithstanding their exaggerations and bombast, contain many original, stirring, and highly poetical ideas, and were not seldom remarkable for great powers of invention. Some of them written after the model of Goëthe, especially after his chivalrous drama, 'Götz von Berlichingen,' were distinguished for a certain wildness and natural sublimity which not unfrequently vary in their mood and character, whereby in many instances they proved in themselves antidotes to their own sentimentalism, and often opposed the narrow prejudices, and stiff, though tame, customs prevailing in those days.

To this period also belongs the venerable canon Tiedge, who among others, wrote the 'Amy and Robert,' 'Urania,' and 'The Wanderings through the Market of Life.' Much resembling the generality of the novel writers of his day, he frequently affects an effeminate melancholy. But though in this respect faulty, he is, on the whole, rather honest than otherwise. Many trains of noble and moral feelings, given vent to in easy and elegant phraseology, are, in spite of the faults just enumerated, to be met with in his writings; and inasmuch as he is serious and sincere in his aim, he sometimes gives birth to profound ideas, among which God, religion, the immortality of the soul, and the freedom of man's will, are plentifully interspersed.

Although alive, and considered as two of the finest of the more recent German romantic writers, we deem it necessary to mention here two female novelists, who have proved an honour to their sex, and to the class of writers of which they constitute

worthy members. We allude to Ida Luisa Countess Hahn-Hahn, and to Fanny Tarnow. The former of these, independent of all the writers of the day, has struck out a path for herself which is entirely her own. In her 'Reisebilder,' 'Jenseit der Berge,' 'Cäcil,' 'Reiseversuch im Norden,' 'Ulrich,' 'Gräfin Faustina,' and others, though not unfrequently composed in a style of deep melancholy, and in a certain strain of inexpressible sadness, the countess never closes up her heart: she never denies what sex she belongs to; and in a language at once the purest and the most chaste, gives herself up wholly to her noble sentiments, and openly avows to the world her tender susceptibilities. As a German writer justly observes, far from dipping her feelings seven times in the waters of a stupid and offensive prudery, she permits them to range in all their glow and power.

Possessed in like manner of an affectionate heart, and writing what she feels, Fanny Tarnow has become one of the greatest favourites of the day, and is considered by the Germans as a first-rate novelist. Her best works are 'Natalie,' 'Kleopatra,' and 'Thekla,'—productions, the chief features and attractive points of which consist in natural feeling and feminine tenderness, void of every atom of sentimental prudery or masculine coarseness.

Kotzebue, though more celebrated as a dramatic than as a novel writer, produced two novels—'Leiden der ortenberghischen Familie,' and 'Die Geschichte meines Vaters, oder wie es zugeht, dass ich geboren wurde.' But these, as well as his other novels, are so much inferior to his dramatic writings, that they may justly be considered as the mere offspring of a passing humour. Yet they are not without merit, betraying a fine imagination, and great powers of invention, besides a light, graceful flow of spirited language. By far better is Moritz's 'Anton Reiser,' a psychological novel, in which the author describes his own life, as also the lower life in towns as they existed at the time. The whole is a highly interesting production, embodying many noble feelings, and acute philosophical and psychological remarks. A counterpart to this novel is the famous Engel's admirable satirical characteristic painting, 'Lorenz Stark,' which is considered by many as the best description of the higher life in towns then prevailing.

Goëthe, as we have already seen, had produced a highly vigorous drama 'chevaleresque,' embodying the strongest sentiments of political freedom. This was the celebrated 'Götz von Berlichingen,' the sensation created by the appearance of which exceeds description. This work, the good folks of Germany immediately commenced imitating, falling thereby,

however, from one extreme into another. If they had been dull sentimentalists and unexampled enthusiasts, they were now suddenly metamorphosed into knights and squires, giving themselves up *con amore e con piacere* to the rudeness and uncouthness of these worthies, and henceforth only dreamt of brimmers and castles, tournaments and combatings, freebootings, donjons, the 'Vehmgerichts,' and such like things. Among the first German writers, who imitated the 'Götz von Berlichingen,' were Babo, the author of the famous novel 'Otto von Wittelsbach,' and the Count Thüring-Seefeld, who wrote 'Agnes Bernauerin,' and 'Kaspar der Thüringer.' In these works, both authors showed how closely they imitated their model, and how strongly they could inveigh (notwithstanding their having written in a style and on a subject belonging to antiquity,) against existing tyrannical laws and institutions. But the work which created the greatest sensation was C. Vulpius's 'Rinaldo Rinaldini, the Captain of Robbers,' a production which may be justly considered as forming the transition from the old honest coarseness of chivalry and freebooting to frivolity. Never did a novel meet with greater success than this frivolous creation, the hero of which, had evidently been modelled after Schiller's celebrated chief of robbers, Carl Moor. It would lead us too far, were we minutely to examine the merits of this work, or consider the mischief it caused. Suffice it to say, that whatever its merits and demerits may be, one thing is certain, viz., that the idea, that one may be a virtuous man and a consummate voluptuous libertine, a man of mark as well as a vain fop, which was conceived by this author, and, if we mistake not, by Göethe himself, is an abstraction to which some Germans are still inclined, and which is perceptible even in some of our own novels of more recent date.

This mischief increased on the appearance of Schiller's masterly performance 'The Ghost-seer,' which henceforth became the model for imitation by numberless scribblers. The result may easily be conceived. Hence it was, that the clever novels of Veit Weber, or G. Wächter, proved refreshing to those who were oppressed by the miserable scribbling of the period. V. Weber's novels are: 'Sagen der Vorzeit' (Tales of Yore), 'Wilhelm Tell,' and 'The Vehmgerichte in Austria.' To these we must add his 'Briefe eines Frauenzimmers aus dem fünfzehnten Jahrhundert.' These productions, composed in the spirit of the middle age, afforded relaxation and an agreeable change to those who were already tired of ghosts, chivalry, thieving, adventures, and such-like exhibitions.

Heinse, librarian and reader to the Elector of Mayence, a kind and good-humoured, but rather sensual-minded, man, a



disciple of the Wieland school, produced at this time the novels 'Hildegard von Hohenthal,' 'Petronius,' 'Kunst Roman,' and 'Ardinghello.' The last, which much resembles Madame de Staël's 'Corinna,' but which in our opinion is superior to it, together with Tieck's and Wackenroder's 'Franz Sternbald's Wanderungen'—one of the finest novels German literature can boast of—and many other excellent productions, had, with few exceptions, a beneficial influence on the romantic literature of Germany.

Owing, no doubt, to the political storms of the times, and especially to the French Revolution, another change took place in the department of the German romance, which gave rise to the 'Familienstücke' and 'Familiengemälde,' or domestic novels. The chief authors of this class were La Fontaine, Langbein, Schilling, Friedrich Count von Soden, Anton Ball, &c. The first, who had been chaplain to a regiment, was apparently the head of this school, and was almost worshipped by the romantic world. His writings are divided into 'Unterhaltende' and 'Rührende Familiengemälde,'—entertaining and pathetic family pictures; yet, owing to the striking resemblance which they bear to one another, the difference between them is not very perceptible.

Of the immense number of tales and novels written by Schilling, 'Guido von Sohnsdom,' 'Der Roman im Roman,' 'Die Brautschau,' 'Röschens Geheimnisse,' and 'Das Weib wie es ist,' are in the highest repute. Possessed of great knowledge of the world, a good humoured wit, and a charming conversational mode of expression, he endowed all his writings with an interest, which makes them even at this day pleasant and amusing companions. Langbein, like most of his contemporaries, is somewhat too free; in part from the exactness with which he describes the scenes and characters of that period. In some of his writings, especially in his tales, he moves with much ease and elegance, and in his poetical productions, evinces great powers of invention, a rich flow of spirit, and a certain degree of cheerfulness, which place him by the side of his gifted countryman, Bürger. Dullness, and now and then a little frivolity, are among the distinguishing features of Laun's novels, the chef d'œuvre of which is the 'Citizen of Cöln.' His writings were at one time in great request.

One of the noblest, and in our opinion, finest novelists of that period, is the bookseller, and (Berlin) academician, Nicolai, the intimate friend of the great Lessing, and of Moses Mendelsohn, a man to whom German literature is deeply indebted for the services which he rendered to it. Nicolai incessantly laboured to unite the whole nation, ordinarily separated by political

divisions, by means of intellectual and moral ties. This he attempted by the publication of many admirable works, among others by his 'Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften,' 'Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,' of both which he had been the editor, and his 'Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend.' He laboured in his capacity as bookseller and publisher, solely for science and the public good, and seldom from any mercenary motive. Neither the daily labours of his vocation, nor his innumerable other engagements, ever induced him to become faithless to his muse. He very frequently spent whole nights over his books, and regardless of the many attractions which Berlin offered to the man of the world, and of the temptations which surrounded him to spend his time in society, he laboured like the best of his compatriots for the welfare of his countrymen, and the advancement of their literature. The German public had almost become a prey to a haughty and intolerant priesthood, whose evil influences had spread like wild-fire throughout the land. Add to this the Anglomania, the Gallo and Greco-mania, in fact '*manias*' of all sorts and conditions, especially that of book-making by translation, and the reader will have some idea of the unhappy state into which the country was plunged. The necessity of doing something to counteract these evils, and of aiming a bold stroke at this many-headed hydra, was evident to all. It is beyond our province to say how far Lessing succeeded in freeing the country from these and other evils. A similar task was reserved for Nicolai, and to it he addressed himself right earnestly. Like another Goliath, he appeared with his novel 'Sebaldus Nothanker;' the effect of which was marvellous. His next, 'Der dicke Mann,' or the History of a stout Man, was intended to attack those vain scribblers, who gave themselves more credit for talent and learning, than they in reality possessed. He describes the evil consequences arising from such assumption, and levels many satirical strokes at Kantianism, which at that period was the fashion. But his witty sallies at this system of philosophy in his third novel, 'Sempronius Gundibert,' met with boundless applause. It was a production much needed; a word spoken at the right time, it afforded accordingly no slight degree of pleasure and gratification. Nicolai did full justice to the acuteness and wisdom of the great author of the 'Criticism of Pure Reason;' but what annoyed him was the jargon of the 'Pure Reason.' How could it be otherwise? Cultivating, as he did, the friendship of the greatest German writers of the day, in and out of the Prussian capital, the intimate companion of two such luminaries as Lessing and Mendelsohn, whose brilliant philosophy, good humour, and elegant wit, were truly electrifying, how, we

again ask, could it be otherwise? The Kantians, and among them the great Fichte, were driven to exasperation by the 'Sempromius Gundibert,' which contributed much to free the nation from the fetters in which it had been bound, slavely, from time almost immemorial.

Nicolai's name will live, not, it is true, in his novels, for these, it is not unlikely, may lose in the course of time much of their interest and beauty, inasmuch as the faults and follies against which they were directed, have long since been blotted out, or laughed away,—but in his many other valuable and excellent works, such as his 'Topography of Berlin and Potsdam,' 'Anecdotes of Frederic the Great,' to collect and arrange which it would have been difficult to find a more suitable individual, since he was at the fountain-head from which only could be derived all the incidents and necessary materials. What an admirable production is his 'Tour through Germany!' The European Chinese, the Austrians, never forgave his boldness in telling them humiliating if not crushing truths. Nicolai, upon the whole, was certainly one of the greatest men Germany has produced, and decidedly one of her best novelists. Klinger, Musäus, and Schummel were very faithful followers of Nicolai. Klinger, the author whom we have already mentioned in conjunction with Goëthe, is a writer of high order. By one of his works, a drama, entitled 'Sturm und Drang,' he laid the foundation of a revolution in the province of the German belles-lettres, a period which Goëthe, in allusion to the drama, has styled 'Die Sturm und Drangperiode.'

The novels of this industrious author, written in a spirit of intense misanthropy, or dislike of the world, are replete with stirring thoughts and incidents, and were (particularly in his days) well suited to counteract the evils that arose from sentimentality, mock enthusiasm, and similar qualities. Klinger's best known novels are: *Faust's Leben*, *Thaten und Höllenfahrt*; *Geschichte Raphaels de Aquillas* (a companion to the former), and 'Der Weltmann und der Dichter.' Musäus, has already been mentioned. Among Schummel's favourite novels deserve to be mentioned his 'Sentimental Journey through Germany,' 'The Little Voltaire, and Spitzbart.' The latter is a masterly comic novel, in which the system of education of the last century, but especially that of the famous Basedow, is held up to derision.

Novels very much admired, and certainly of great merit, are those written by Müller von Itzehoe, of which the following are the most finished, and maintain the highest rank. 'The Ring,' 'The Papers of the Brown Man,' 'Frederick Brack,' 'Selim the Fortunate,' and 'Siegfried von Lindenberg.' The last novel



in some degree outweighs the rest. In it, Müller, with much skill and great adroitness, portrays a Pomeranian gentleman, whose simple customs but powerful mind come into contact with the so-called modern education, and enlightenment. Müller was one of the happiest imitators of some of the English humorous writers, especially of Smollet. A highly polished language, great powers of invention and observation, as also a rather large portion of good humour, though now and then deficient in masculine strength, constitute the chief features of Müller's novels.

Wetzel, whom some consider the German Marivaux, is distinguished more for verbosity and a pompous style than anything else; all his productions are marked by an evident straining after something unusual, which renders them extremely tedious.

One of the most polished German novelists, is Von Knigge, a nobleman by birth, and a man of great learning, of knowledge of the world, and of superior talents. He wrote a great many very interesting novels; among others, 'Leben des armen Herrn von Miltenberg,' 'Reise nach Braunschweig und Fritzlar,' and 'Reise auf die Universität,' almost each of which contains attacks upon the enthusiast Lavater's journeys to Copenhagen. Furthermore, 'Roman meines Lebens,' a work replete with truths and facts taken from the author's biography, 'Peter Claus,' probably Knigge's most perfect novel, and one which has been translated into most living languages, particularly into the French, under the title of 'Gil Blas allemand;' but he is likewise the author of many satires, almost all of a political tendency.

Knigge's writings are chiefly remarkable for acuteness of mind, a thorough knowledge of the subject he deals with, a graceful expression, and a refined wit. It is to be lamented that this author is not more known in our mirth-loving country.

A very prolific novelist of the last century was K. G. Cramer, who wrote between ninety and a hundred volumes of rather smart tales, the most remarkable of which are—'Thirty Acres,' 'Karl Saalfeld,' and 'Erasmus Schleicher.' These, notwithstanding their want of polish and refined tone, are distinguished for depth of thought, a high degree of originality, and a powerful style.

We have dwelt so long on the earlier German novelists (and that, too, we fear, without having done them full justice), that we are unable at present to prosecute our original design, of bringing the more recent writers of fiction before our readers. We must defer this to a future occasion, and in the meantime will simply remark, that the prolific character of the German mind is strikingly shown in the review we have instituted.

It would have afforded us unfeigned pleasure to note a distinctively religious tone in the works we have specified. Even fiction admits of this, and borrows from it a grace and purity which marvellously augment its power. But intellect has too frequently been dissociated from revelation, and the class of publications now reviewed, contributes little to remove the unhappy dissociation.

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Art. VIII.—*The Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges of the Last and of the Present Century.* By William C. Townsend, Esq., M.A. Recorder of Macclesfield. In two Volumes, 8vo. London: Longman and Co.

WE have perused these volumes with very considerable pleasure, and discharge a grateful duty in introducing them to the favourable notice of our readers. In many respects they are just what was needed, sufficiently professional to secure their accuracy, yet popular in their cast, and skilfully adapted to the comprehension and wants of the community. One of the consequences—and by no means a bad one—of the wider diffusion of knowledge in our day, is the desire felt for fuller and more accurate information respecting the great men who have preceded us, than our fathers possessed. The spread of intelligence has quickened inquiry, given rise to a thousand questions, and created a craving which nothing can satisfy but sound and well attested information. This is a healthy state of the popular intellect. It is just what we desire. It is the legitimate form of manhood, erect and of open countenance, with an inquiring eye, and an expression of honest fellowship with all that is human. It is marvellous to observe with how little information our predecessors were satisfied. A few inquiring and active spirits looked out beyond their immediate circles, and sought to trace back the course of events, so as to refer to their several epochs and prime agents, the beneficial changes which have been wrought. But the mass of mankind were content to deal with existing interests, and those, too, in their most restricted bearings. The necessities of the hour, the knowledge which bore immediately on their present and passing wants, were all which awakened their solicitude, and they left the future to take heed to itself without seeking to enlighten it by the wisdom which may be drawn from the past. The lowest and most grovelling form of utilitarianism was everywhere predominant, and any appeal to the men and the transactions of a former age was treated as a species of pedantic

foppery. Each generation therefore started, to a great extent, anew. Human knowledge was perpetually commencing. There was no voluntary progress; no effort made to aid its advance; no cautious scrutiny of what had gone before, in order to escape the dangers, or to secure, in the largest degree, the good with which the future might be peopled. The warnings or the encouragements of a prior age were alike, for the most part, disregarded; and the human being passed from infancy to manhood, and through manhood to the grave, with the smallest possible advantage from the experience of his predecessors. A benefit perfectly involuntary, was derived from the laws of a merciful Providence, but this was limited in its extent, and applicable only to a small portion of human interests, compared with what might have been realised. Each man was left to grope his way as best he could, amidst the difficulties of his course, without the guidance and the energy which would have been ministered by an enlightened knowledge of the past. The great body of our countrymen were thus left in almost total ignorance of what had preceded them. The names of Chaucer and Spenser, of Shakspeare and Milton, of Bacon and Newton, of Dryden and Pope, were familiar to their ears. Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, the reformation from popery, the rise of the puritan controversy, the tyranny of the Stuarts, the noble patriotism of the Long Parliament, in its earliest and palmy days, the heroic fortitude and proud achievements of Cromwell, the restoration of the second Charles, the martyrdom of Russell and Sydney, and the revolution of 1688, were known in name only, and for the most part were grossly misconceived. Their histories were unread, their character was misapprehended. Falsehood was received as truth, and party spleen was worshipped as zeal for God. Even yet there is much to be effected; but it is a good and hopeful sign that our young men who are to constitute the active and the influential class of a few years hence, are familiarizing themselves with the past, not as the means of mental slavery, but with a view to extract from its records lessons of wisdom and incentives to virtue. That evil will mix with the good, we may readily believe. It has always been so, and there is no reason to suppose that the laws of our nature are changed. Tares must grow with the wheat; but we have the utmost confidence that the latter will greatly preponderate, and therefore anticipate from the revolution now silently passing over the spirits of men, a vast accession to the knowledge and happiness of our race.

The appearance of the work before us is one of the fruits of this new spirit. It is a sign of the times, and interests us as such, apart from the manner of its execution. It is addressed



to a class of readers formerly uninterested in such inquiries, and in whom, a few years since, it would have been deemed highly presumptuous to aspire after such knowledge. The want, however, has been created, and Mr. Townsend wisely comes forward to supply it. The first desire of an awakened public has been to acquaint itself with the more prominent facts of our history, and the second to trace out the career of the great men who have stamped their character on our institutions. To the latter desire these volumes are addressed, and they will not fail to interest, as they are well adapted to inform every intelligent reader. They evince extensive reading, considerable aptitude in the selection of illustrative anecdotes, a high appreciation of the judicial bench, a hearty recognition of legal erudition and of forensic skill apart from political partisanship, and on the whole, a sound and healthful view of the varied subjects discussed. Mr. Townsend has not been sparing in the use made of his predecessors. He has gathered from every quarter with an avidity which sometimes trenches on propriety, and deprives his work of all pretensions to originality. He is, for the most part, a collector merely; but his diligence and skill have enabled him to produce an interesting and instructive work, and are therefore entitled to commendation. We are far from agreeing with all the opinions he expresses, and have sometimes felt the want of a higher and more ennobling treatment of his topics. But on the whole, we thank him heartily for his labours, and proceed to give our readers a more detailed account of them. 'The character and fortunes,' he justly remarks in his preface, 'of those great men who have added reverence to the judgment-seat during the last half century can scarcely fail to furnish topics of varied interest, and amusement. Commencing with the mighty master of common law, Sir Francis Buller, their history includes those eloquent holders of the Great Seal, Lords Loughborough and Erskine; the three admirable chiefs of the Queen's Bench, Lords Kenyon, Ellenborough, and Tenderden; those memorable Masters of the Rolls, Lord Alvanley and Sir William Grant; those scientific lawyers, the one in real property, the other in common law, Lord Redesdale and Sir Vicary Gibbs; and ends with the fortunate brothers—not more fortunate than deserving—Lords Stowell and Eldon.'

In the preparation of his work he has endeavoured to reconcile the most scrupulous delicacy towards the survivors of the eminent men described, 'with a faithful and accurate likeness.' The effect of this is occasionally evident in the subdued tone of censure adopted, but on the whole there is little cause for complaint, though the darker features of his portraits are kept

somewhat out of sight. A more rigid and exact judgment would probably, in some cases, have pronounced a severer sentence, but the error, if error it be, is on virtue's side, and may easily be corrected by an intelligent reader, from the facts supplied. We shall not, of course, attempt to notice all the 'Lives' contained in these volumes. Some of them have recently been given to the public with much greater fulness than consisted with Mr. Townsend's plan, and the interest of others is almost, though not entirely, restricted to members of the legal profession. We pass over, therefore, the earlier biographies, simply extracting the following anecdote of Lord Kenyon, which strikingly illustrates the absurd cruelty of our criminal code, and the marvellous perversion exercised by a false system over a strong intellect. Though the man revolted at the barbarity of the law, the judge zealously opposed its amelioration :—

'An interesting anecdote of Lord Kenyon's sensibility was related in the House of Commons by Mr. Morris in the debates of 1811. Of the occurrence that gentleman had been an eye-witness. 'On the home-circuit,' he said, 'some years since, a young woman was tried for having stolen to the amount of forty shillings in a dwelling house. It was her first offence, and was attended with many circumstances of extenuation. The prosecutor appeared, as he stated, from a sense of duty; the witnesses very reluctantly gave their evidence, and the jury still more reluctantly their verdict of guilty. The judge passed sentence of death; she instantly fell lifeless at the bar. Lord Kenyon, whose sensibility was not impaired by the sad duties of his office, cried out in great agitation from the bench: 'I don't mean to hang you: will nobody tell her I don't mean to hang her?' 'I then felt,' he justly added, 'as I now feel, that this was passing sentence, not on the prisoner, but on the law.' This deserved reproach never startled the learned judge, who was a devout believer in the perfection of the penal laws, and, without rising superior to the prejudices of the age in which he lived, gained a reputation for mercy above his colleagues, by yielding more frequently than they did to the impulses of compassion. His humanity, active in cases of life and death, so far as his conscience would allow, was less alert in behalf of those criminals to whom secondary punishments had been awarded, and never slumbered so soundly, as when a fashionable libertine was to be amerced in damages, a seditious libeller to be sent to gaol, or a knavish attorney to be struck off the rolls.'—vol. i. p. 86.

Lord Ellenborough ranks amongst the highest ornaments of the judicial bench. He was the fourth son of Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and was born at Great Salkeld, in Cumberland, on the 16th of November, 1750. At twelve years of age he was placed on the foundation of the Charter

House, where he continued nearly six years, and is described by a contemporary as 'at once moody and good tempered, a bluff, burly boy, ever ready to inflict a blow, or perform an exercise for his schoolfellows.' In 1768 he removed to Peterhouse, Cambridge, where he gained distinguished honours, and formed the acquaintance of several who were afterwards eminent in their various departments. Being elected a fellow of his college, he quitted Cambridge in 1773, and entered himself of Lincoln's Inn. His energetic, enduring, and proud spirit, is strikingly depicted at this time, in a short letter addressed to his college friend, Archdeacon Coxe. He was at this time engaged in a pleader's chambers.

'After holding a pen most of the day in the service of my profession, I will use it a few minutes longer in that of friendship. I thank you, my dearest friend, for this and every proof of confidence and affection. Let us cheerfully push our way in our different lines,—the path of neither of us is strewed with roses, but they will terminate in happiness and honour. I cannot, however, now and then help sighing, when I think how inglorious an apprenticeship we both of us serve to ambition, while you teach a child his rudiments, and I drudge at the pen for attorneys. But if knowledge and a respectable situation are to be purchased only on these terms, I for my part can readily say, *hæc mercede placet*. Do not commend my industry too soon; application wears for me at present the charm of novelty; upon a longer acquaintance I may grow tired of it.'—*ib.* p. 306.

Happily for himself he did not grow tired of his occupation, but applied with unwearied diligence to the subtleties of special pleading, and did not venture on being called to the bar till 1780, when he selected the northern circuit, and was greatly aided in his early professional career by family connections. An opportunity was speedily afforded of displaying, with full effect, and on the most prominent theatre, the high qualities with which he was endowed. This was the trial of Warren Hastings, whose case he was engaged to lead; 'a high and arduous task,' as Mr. Townsend justly remarks, 'for a young man of only eight years standing at the bar.' His opponents on the occasion were the most illustrious men of the day. Burke, Fox, Sheridan, Windham, and Grey were arrayed against him; and though he trembled and was somewhat overpowered at the outset, he manfully addressed himself to his duty, and fearlessly discharged it. Miss Burney, who was an eye-witness of the scene, has given an animated account of the demeanour of Mr. Law, from which we extract the following brief passage.



‘To hear the attack, the people came in crowds; to hear the defence, they scarcely came in tête-à-tête. Mr. Law was terrified exceedingly, and his timidity induced him so frequently to beg quarter from his antagonists, both for any blunders and any deficiencies, that I felt angry with even modest egotism. We (Windham and I) spoke of Mr. Law, and I expressed some dissatisfaction that such attackers should not have had able and more equal opponents.’ ‘But do not you think Mr. Law spoke well,’ cried Windham; ‘clear, forcible?’ ‘Not forcible,’ cried I; ‘I would not say, not clear.’ ‘He was frightened,’ said Windham; ‘he might not do himself justice. I have heard him elsewhere, and been very well satisfied with him; but he looked pale and alarmed, and his voice trembled.’ ‘In his second oration,’ continues Miss Burney, ‘Mr. Law was far more animated, and less frightened, and acquitted himself so as almost to merit as much commendation, as, in my opinion, he had merited censure at the opening.’—*ib.* 309.

In the course of the trial he became cool and collected, was subtle in the detection of errors, unsparing in the exposure of his opponents, and profoundly versed in all the legal questions which were mooted. The inclination of the court was well known, and the accused was acquitted by a majority of 23 to 6. Law received nearly £3000 in fees, and, what was of far greater value, he derived from his efforts on this occasion, ‘a sensible increase of personal reputation, and a consequent accession of business.’ From this period he rapidly rose in Westminster Hall, and began to be cheered by the prospect of high preferment. During the ministry of William Pitt, he was regarded with coldness and suspicion, as the son of a Whig bishop, but on the formation of the Addington cabinet, in 1801, he was made attorney-general, and entered the House of Commons, as member for one of the now disfranchised boroughs. His reply to the premier, when this appointment was tendered, with an offer of two days for consideration, on account of the probably brief duration of the new government, was highly characteristic of his decision and firmness. ‘Sir,’ said Mr. Law, ‘when such an offer is made to me, and communicated in such terms, I should think myself disgraced, if I took two days, two hours, or two minutes to deliberate upon it. I am yours; and let the storm blow from what quarter of the hemisphere it may, you shall always find me at your side.’

It is reported of George III., that on Mr. Law attending the first levee after his appointment, he was asked by the monarch, if he had ever been in Parliament; and having replied in the negative. ‘That is right,’ said the royal interrogator; ‘my attorney-general ought not to have been in Parliament, for then, you know, he will not be obliged to eat his own words.’

As a parliamentary debater he was far from attaining the highest rank, though equally remote from the signal failure which has attended some others whose eloquence at the bar was greatly superior to his.

‘He was then fifty-one, an age generally considered too late for those who hope to acquire the fame of parliamentary orators. St. Stephen’s Chapel is strewn with the wrecks of eminent lawyers, but Sir Edward Law was not added to the long and melancholy list. The vigour with which he threw himself into all legal and constitutional questions, and the spirit with which he went out in all weathers as a debater, soon elicited the respect and attention of the house. He spoke with an energy that reminded the old members of Thurlow, on subjects connected with his peculiar functions; fearless, full of matter, and copious in diction, a hard hitter, even when he spoke carelessly. During a debate on the Prince’s claim, when he remarked that the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster were placed under the control of Henry the Sixth, it was suggested from the opposition bench that the law was shortly after changed. ‘Ay,’ said the Attorney-General, ‘in times of trouble. The honourable gentlemen opposite seem well versed in the troubles of their country.’—*ib.* pp. 324, 325,

In the upper house he was a frequent speaker on ‘questions of constitutional and general polity. His oratory, which was generally without premeditation, had vast unadorned power, but its effect was marred by ebullitions of temper. He threw his vigorous spirit into whatever topic he discussed, infusing a strength of mind and muscle, which could not brook restraint or tolerate contradiction.’ His success as a parliamentary speaker was greatly impaired by his extreme irritability, which sometimes showed itself in the most repulsive forms imaginable. On these occasions he was apparently unconscious of the trespass he was committing, and would sometimes even congratulate himself on his freedom from asperity. An instance of this occurred, when he accused Lord Grey of uttering ‘a base and calumnious imputation,’ and sat down, to the infinite amusement of the house, expressing a conviction of having defended himself without bitterness towards his opponent. At a later period Lord Holland inflicted a severe but dignified castigation on the irritable judge, which was too ably conceived, and is too honourable to the memory of that estimable nobleman to allow us to pass it by. We avail ourselves of Mr. Townsend’s sketch of this memorable passage.

‘That nobleman, in 1811, brought forward a motion for an account of all informations *ex officio* in cases of libel, in a temperate and judicious speech, which elicited one of a totally different spirit from the judge, who, making a law against himself, remarked, that ‘he

knew nothing more to be deprecated in that house than violent and vague declamations resting on no grounds. (Hear, hear, from Lord Holland). The noble lord might call all that he had said a mere tirade; but in all that he had said, did he not bottom himself on facts? (Hear, hear, from Lord Holland.) The cries of the noble lord could not convince him that he had not. He was used to tumults and alarms; they never yet could put him down. Were he to die the next instant, he never would yield for one moment to tumult! The keen and cutting irony with which Lord Holland rebutted this unjust attack was long personally remembered by the house, and will richly reward perusal. The following is a short specimen: 'My lords, I must trespass for a few minutes on your time, for I feel myself called upon, not indeed to answer arguments, but to repel accusations and charges; not to combat objections to my motion, but to vindicate my character from aspersions which have been thrown out, I will not say in a disorderly and unparliamentary manner, but at least in a style and tone which, fortunately for the dignity of your deliberations, is rare and unusual in this house. I have been told, not by inference, but in direct terms, that I am captious, that I am passionate, that I am indirect, and unmanly. I profess not the temper of bearing such charges with equanimity; and if I were to disguise my astonishment, I will say my indignation, at hearing them brought against me, I should, in fact, prove myself guilty of that insincerity with which I am charged. With respect to the vehemence or passion with which I may have expressed myself, I should have hoped that the learned lord would have had the charity to recollect that I never had the advantage of those judicial habits from which he has profited so much; and which, as they require from him, so they have no doubt taught him, that calmness and composure of mind for which he is so remarkable. The practice of such duties, and the exercise of such temper as these duties require, can alone bring the feelings of men to so perfect a state of discipline, and produce, even in the delivery of their strongest opinions, that dignified and dispassionate tone which adds a grace to all the noble and learned lord's public appearances, and has so eminently distinguished his conduct on this night's debate. I fear, my lords, I shall never attain that composure of manner and command of temper, of which the noble and learned lord inculcates the necessity, full as much as he affords the example. Indeed, I must acknowledge that I shall not even aspire to emulate the model he holds out to me, and, while I admire his precepts, must confess that I have no ambition to follow his example. The clamorous invective, which has nothing to recommend it but authority, is as much clamour as the cries and shouts of a mob; and I hope that I shall have the courage and honesty to treat it, come from whom it may, with a due portion of that feeling which the noble and learned lord so properly reserves for all clamour unfounded in reason.'—*ib.* pp. 331—333.

Though grave and austere to a fault, several anecdotes are



on record which show that the judge could occasionally relax into a milder mood, and indulge in pleasantries foreign from his ordinary temper. When a counsel, too much addicted to self-praise, had declared in the course of his address, that such things were enough to drive one from the bar, 'Don't threaten the court,' said his lordship, 'with such a terrible calamity.' On another occasion, when an eminent conveyancer came express from the Court of Chancery to the King's Bench to argue a question of real property, and commenced an erudite speech by gravely observing 'that an estate in fee-simple was the highest estate known to the law of England.' 'Stay, stay,' interrupted the Chief Justice, 'let me write that down;' and having done so, and deliberately read the note he had taken,—'The court, sir,' he added, 'is indebted to you for the information.' The irony would have sufficed to disturb the self-possession of most men, but the learned advocate was impervious to such weapons, and having continued his address till the court rose, then enquired when it would be their lordships' *pleasure* to hear the remainder of his argument. 'Mr. P—,' rejoined the Chief Justice, 'we are bound to hear you, and shall do so on Friday; but *pleasure* has been long out of the question.' On some occasions, however, his lordship met his equal, of which the following furnishes an example.

'Mr. Brougham having defended the proprietors of a paper who were indicted for libel, and made an impassioned address to the jury in their behalf, Lord Ellenborough, in summing up, remarked, that the defendant's counsel had imbibed the noxious spirit of his client, and had inoculated himself with all the poison and virus of the libel. Mr. Brougham, when his client was brought up for judgment, complained with proper spirit of these animadversions. 'My lord, why am I thus identified with the interests of my client? I appear here as an English advocate, with the privileges and the responsibilities of that office, and no man shall call in question my principles in its faithful and honest discharge. It is not, assuredly, to those only who clamour out their faith from high places, that credit will be given for the sincerity of their professions.' The judge made no comment on this manly remonstrance, but was too high-minded himself not to admire its spirit.'—*ib.* 353—4.

On another occasion, in December, 1817, Lord Ellenborough received from an obscure individual, the severest rebukes which were probably ever administered in court to an English judge. We knew William Hone, and may be somewhat influenced in our judgment by the affectionate esteem in which we hold his memory. He was one of the mildest and most urbane of men. The benignity of his countenance was a fair index of his heart. He would not have hurt a worm, but the obvious determination

of his judge to secure a conviction, stirred his gentle nature, and aroused within him the strongest indignation. Having been acquitted on his first trial, at which Mr. Justice Abbott presided, Lord Ellenborough came into court on the following day, 'to compel,' as Mr. Townsend admits, in his *life* of the former, 'a verdict of guilty.' His interruptions of the accused were frequent and unseemly; but William Hone, though worn by fatigue, exhausted both in body and in mind, scarcely able on some occasions to collect himself sufficiently to comprehend the objections taken to his course, with the anxieties of a numerous family pressing upon him, and the whole power of Government employed to crush him, rose with the occasion, and by his manly sense and genuine English fortitude, worsted his formidable antagonists. 'It was hoped,' said the accused on his third trial, which, in defiance of common decency was persisted in, 'by certain very grave members of the cabinet, that William Hone could not stand the third day; that he would sink under his fatigue and want of physical power.' 'He can't stand the third day,' said these humane and Christian ministers; 'we shall have him now; he must be crushed.' Oh, no, no, he must not be crushed; you cannot crush him. I have a spark of liberty in my mind, that will glow, and burn brighter, and blaze more fiercely, as my mortal remains are passing to decay. There is nothing can crush me but my own sense of doing wrong; the moment I feel it, I fall down in self abasement before my accusers; but when I have done no wrong, when I know I am right, I am as an armed man; and in this spirit I wage battle with the Attorney-General, taking a tilt with him here on the floor of this court.' From the unseemly and partizan interruptions of the Judge, Mr. Hone appealed to an impartial jury. 'I feel,' said he, addressing Lord Ellenborough, 'the grievance of which I complain; I am to be tried, not you. When I shall have been consigned to a dungeon, your lordship will sit as coolly on that seat as ever; you will not feel the punishment. I feel the grievance, and I remonstrate against it. . . . Gentlemen,' he added, addressing the jury, under an inspiration worthy the advocate of English freedom, 'it is you who are trying me to-day. His lordship is no judge of me. You are my judges, and you only are my judges. His lordship sits there to receive your verdict. He does not even sit there to regulate the trial, for the law has already regulated it.\*' The accused was acquitted, and common report attributed the Judge's death, which occurred on the 11th of December in the following year, to the mortification experienced on this occasion,

\* Hone's Three Trials.

This report is discredited by our author, who mentions the following anecdote in evidence of its falsity.

'There is no truth in the popular notion, that Lord Ellenborough was killed by the result of Hone's trial. As a proof how little his nerves were shaken, the late Bishop Turner, who rode with him from Westminster, has mentioned in private conversation that he laughed at the hooting and tumultuous mob, who surrounded the carriage, remarking that their saliva was more dangerous than their bite. He suddenly pulled the check-string at Charing Cross: 'It just occurs to me that they sell the best red herrings at this shop of any shop in London; buy six.' The dainty was purchased, and the judge, whom the people supposed to be half slain, made a hearty meal.'—*ib.* p. 389.

Mr. Townsend's notice of these trials is amongst the least satisfactory portions of his work. He admits, as we have already seen, the predetermination of the judge, and confesses that 'he acted with too inexorable rigour,' yet fails to mark, in terms at all adequate to the occasion, the wrong that was attempted. Those were days of darkness, when the Government of the nation was in the hands of men whose intellects were as feeble as their malice was intense. We have happily fallen on better times, but must not forget to whose noble resistance we are greatly indebted for the preservation of our liberties.

We now turn to a more pleasing topic, and regret that our space allows us only briefly to notice the unrivalled talents and great services of Lord Erskine. He was born at Edinburgh, in January, 1750, and having been educated at the high school of that city, thence proceeded to the University of St. Andrews. His early destination gave little promise of his subsequent career. In 1764 he went to sea as a midshipman, and four years afterwards exchanged the navy for the army, receiving a commission as ensign on the 1st of September, 1768. His ultimate adoption of the legal profession is thus explained by Mr. Townsend:—

'The cause of his second change has been variously ascribed—to the persuasions of his mother, a lady of excellent discernment—to the admiration called forth by the exercise of his talents in conversation and debate—to the 'res angusta domi,' and the claims of an increasing family,—and, lastly, to the ennui produced by a desultory course of life, which his occasional pamphlets on the abuses of the army could not furnish sufficient occupation to remove. To his happy determination the whole of these causes with combined force probably contributed; the success of his brother Henry at the Scottish bar, of which he was for many years the grace and ornament, affording also a felicitous precedent. 'At the house of Admiral Walsingham,' says Cradock, 'I first met with Erskine and Sheridan, and it was there the scheme was laid that the former should exchange



the army for the law ; and in consequence our excellent friend, Mr. Hinchcliffe, was applied to, who kindly received him at Trinity Lodge, and obtained for him a nobleman's degree. He was now twenty-six, and to save further loss of time entered his name on the boards of Trinity, Cambridge, as fellow-commoner, and kept terms simultaneously as student at Lincoln's Inn. His sole object in taking a bachelor's degree being to dispense with two out of the five years' noviciate, according to the then regulations of the inns of court, he did not enter the senate-house for honours, and confined his attempts at university distinction to the gaining a college prize for a declamation on the Revolution of 1688.—*ib.* 403—404.

His difficulties at first were very great, as his means were restricted, and his family was becoming numerous. He resided, we are told by Mr. Reynolds, 'in small lodgings, near Hampstead, and openly avowed that he lived on cow-beef, because he could not afford any of a superior quality ; dressed shabbily, expressed the greatest gratitude to Mr. Harris for occasional free admissions to Covent Garden, and used boastingly to exclaim to my father, 'Thank fortune, out of my own family I don't know a lord.'

All however that was wanted, was a fair opportunity of displaying his powers. Give him this, and his success was certain. Happily, the occasion was speedily furnished, and the following is his own account of it :—

'I had scarcely a shilling in my pocket when I got my first retainer. It was sent me by a Captain Baillie, of the navy, who held an office at the Board of Greenwich Hospital, and I was to show cause in the Michaelmas term against a rule that had been obtained in the preceding term, calling on him to show cause why a criminal information for a libel reflecting on Lord Sandwich's conduct as governor of that charity should not be filed against him. I had met, during the long vacation, this Captain Baillie at a friend's table, and after dinner I expressed myself with some warmth, probably with some eloquence, on the corruption of Lord Sandwich as First Lord of the Admiralty, and then adverted to the scandalous practices imputed to him with regard to Greenwich Hospital. Baillie nudged the person who sat next to him, and asked who I was. Being told that I had just been called to the bar, and had been formerly in the navy, Baillie exclaimed with an oath, 'Then I'll have him for my counsel!' I trudged down to Westminster Hall when I got the brief, and being the junior of five, who would be heard before me, never dreamt that the court would hear me at all. The argument came on. Dunning, Bearcroft, Wallace, Bower, Hargrave, were all heard at considerable length, and I was to follow. Hargrave was long-winded, and tired the court. It was a bad omen ; but, as my good fortune would have it, he was afflicted with the strangury, and was obliged to retire once or twice in the course of his argument.

This protracted the cause so long, that, when he had finished, Lord Mansfield said that the remaining counsel should be heard the next morning. This was exactly what I wished. I had the whole night to arrange in my chambers what I had to say the next morning, and I took the court with their faculties awake and freshened, succeeded quite to my own satisfaction (sometimes the surest proof that you have satisfied others), and, as I marched along the Hall after the rising of the judges, the attorneys flocked around me with their retainers. I have since flourished, but I have always blessed God for the providential strangury of poor Hargrave.—*ib.* 405—406.

Throughout his professional life he was not more distinguished by the splendour of his advocacy, which was confessedly unequalled, than by a fearless discharge of his duty to his clients. A striking instance of this occurred on the trial of Dr. Shipley, when he persisted, in opposition to Mr. Justice Buller, in asking the jury to explain their verdict. ‘Sit down, Mr. Erskine,’ said the judge with considerable warmth; ‘know your duty, or I shall be obliged to make you know it in some other way.’ The advocate rejoined with equal warmth, ‘I know my duty as well as your lordship knows your duty; I stand here as the advocate of a fellow-citizen, and I will not sit down.’ The judge was wise enough to be silent. He probably felt that a greater than himself was present, and the independence of the bar was proudly maintained.

Erskine was engaged in the State prosecutions of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwal; and his expositions of constitutional law, and splendid defence of public liberty on these occasions, justly rendered him the idol of the nation. In the following extract the demeanour of Horne Tooke, one of the intended victims of a merciless court, is graphically described.

‘The moment he was ushered into the dock, he began with the air of an aggrieved individual, as the complaining party:

‘My Lord, I beg leave to represent to the Court that we have just come out of a very confined and close hole, and the windows, now opened at our backs, expose us to much cold air; that our health, particularly my own, will be considerably endangered, and most probably we shall lose our voices, before we leave the place: I shall therefore request of the Court to be dismissed as soon as their convenience will permit.’

‘When asked how he would be tried, he eyed the Court for some seconds with an air of significant meaning, which few assumed better, and, shaking his head emphatically, answered, ‘I would be tried by God and my country! But’—there was no occasion to fill up the break—how much he feared that he should not.

‘Being allowed, as an indulgence, to sit by his counsel, the intractable prisoner told the Court, ‘I cannot help saying that, if I

were a judge, that word, 'indulgence' should never issue from my lips. My Lord, you have no indulgence to show; you are bound to be just, and to be just is, to do that which is ordered.'

'Chief Justice Eyre, a model of judicial urbanity, still allowed him the seat merely as an indulgence, on the ground of his infirm health. Once admitted to the bar-table, he made free use of their privilege to inflict the bastinado with his tongue. On the question of adjournment, he told the Court, in a tone of triumph, that if the jury went unshaved and unshirted, so must the judges; but he offered to shorten a probable trial of two hundred hours, by admitting every thing he had ever said, written, or done. As a set-off against the abuse of king and lords in pamphlets, he was ready to produce an abuse of himself printed on earthenware. With regard to the treasonable songs, he would have one of them sung in court to see if there was any seditious, *Ca Ira*-like, or resembling the Marsellois Hymn, in the tune. Refreshing himself with a pinch of Strasburgh, he would often bandy law points with the judge, and, if worsted, apologise by saying that he was only a student of forty years' standing. But he not unfrequently rose a winner. Having objected to a particular piece of evidence, he was reminded by the Court that, if there were two or three links in the chain, they must go to one first, and then to another, and see whether they amounted to evidence. Horne Tooke demurred to this:—

'I beg your pardon, my Lord, but is not a chain composed of links, and may I not disjoin each link, and do not I thereby destroy the chain?'

'Eyre, C. J.—'I rather think not, till the links are put together, and form the chain.'

'Horne Tooke.—'I rather think I may, because it is my business to prevent the forming of that chain!''

'As the trial proceeded, his strong sense of humour seemed to gather point and pungency from the dangerous novelty of his position. It was proved that the society had expressed approbation of certain proceedings in the National Assembly, ergo it was Republican. 'Egad,' said Tooke, 'it is lucky we did not say there were some good things in the Koran, or we should have been charged with Mahometanism!'—vol. ii. pp. 24—26.

On the acquittal of the third prisoner, Erskine's cup was full. 'Injured innocence,' he exclaimed, in his address to the populace, who had drawn him home in triumph, 'still obtains protection from a British jury, and, I am sure, in the honest effusions of your heart you will retire in peace, and bless God.'

'This, we may readily believe, was the proudest and happiest epoch of his life. Greedy of popular applause, faithful to his party and political principles, eager for professional fame, rejoicing in the triumph of the verdict, not superior to the pleasure of mortifying the haughty, disparaging, Pitt, he drained the cup of mental intoxi-



cation at the close of these trials. Day by day he had stood almost alone, from early morn to midnight—

‘With darkness and with dangers compassed round—’

unexhausted, contending for a great principle, the guardian of untold numbers—cheered by the presence of admiring senators, and an applauding people—winning, almost against their will, the sympathies of the jury, and combating always fearlessly, often successfully with the court. He had proved to the scoffers of the House of Commons the might of his arm in his own proper field, had caught encouragement from the looks of Fox and his little band; the most supercilious and jealous of which (even Grey and Sheridan), must now own him for at least their equal. He had done more for freedom than any lawyer since Somers, and had gained a series of victories unexampled in their importance to the cause of constitutional law. Even among those most opposed to him in politics might be numbered many who approved his positions, and rejoiced in the verdict. The dark and ensanguined mass of clouds which loomed over the horizon at the end of the year 1794 had been dispelled by his breath.’—ib. 34.

We need scarcely add, that the volumes before us are admirably adapted for general reading, while the professional student will find them an excellent introduction to that knowledge of his illustrious predecessors at which he should steadily aim.

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Art. IX.—1. *German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century; or, a Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and present Position of those who have recently separated themselves from the Church of Rome; with a short Notice of the State of Protestantism in Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, and the Prussian Baltic Provinces.* By the German correspondent of the ‘Continental Echo.’ John Snow, London, 1846.

2. *The Continental Echo.* Nos. I.—XXI.

THESE publications are valuable repositories of authentic information respecting the progress of evangelism on the Continent. We have therefore turned to them for materials to help us to form an opinion on John Czerski and his procedure. Though the best face is put on the business by his friends, the fact is, that during his recent visit to London, the evangelical circles on the whole received him coldly and suspiciously. Anonymous letters appeared in journals making high pretensions to piety, in which zealous and orthodox pens assumed

to themselves the right to declare his creed for him, and assured readers more credulous than charitable, that he was not sound in the faith. Fearful whispers were more plentiful than the breezes in the hot August air of London, to the effect that he was an unsound and immoral man. 'Anglicanus,' without waiting to ask Czerski himself what his views were, and what his conduct had been, must needs announce in a public journal his loss of all hope in him and his followers. 'This hope is, alas! lost to us.' The Rev. J. Mayers, of Norfolk, wrote a letter proclaiming that the whole German movement had 'taken a decidedly rationalistic tendency and direction.' After perusing some of these letters, we felt very sure that of nothing rationalistic in tone, temper, or thought, were their writers ever likely to be accused. In private, reverend personages were found who seemed to make it their business to expose the moral and doctrinal obliquities of John Czerski. The result was, that this interesting man was met with 'the cold shoulder.'

Averse though we be to the conceited shallowness of what is called rationalistic theology, we wish to be decidedly rationalistic in dealing with the characters of others. For newspaper correspondents to take upon themselves to proclaim a man's views for him seems to be a dishonesty more grievous than the theft of a purse, by just as much as spiritual liberty, and the rights of the soul and religious character, are more valuable than the contents of a purse. Czerski had a property in the right to express his own views in his own way, of which he could be deprived only by a most pernicious kind of larceny. With respect to his moral character, this was a still more serious invasion of his rights. The principles on which men receive each other into Christian fellowship in churches in certain denominations,—accordance in their creeds and consistency of conduct with them—are very different from the principles on which men combine in societies and meet together in private circles. All that can be done practically in the regulation of the latter sort of intercourse is to believe that men mean what they say, and treat them according as they are accredited by introductions from known individuals, or enjoy the sanction of public bodies. For such intercourse and co-operation, investigations with respect to the peculiarities of creed and privacies of conduct are unnecessary and impossible. With how a man married his wife such bodies have nothing to do. They go out of the way when they require what he did with the money sent him to build churches. The investigation of these things belongs to the churches with which he is in communion. If four, not to say forty, Christian communities sanction, by choosing him as their pastor, his way of disposing of funds and

of marrying his wife, public associations owe to him the deference due to the man accredited by the sanction and invested with the approbation of such communities.

Of the thousands of Christian gentlemen who meet each other in societies, scarcely one is ever subjected to any treatment not founded on these considerations. But an exception was made in the case of the Rev. John Czerski. It is a curious exception. Surveying the clergy of all denominations in this country, it is impossible to deny that their position is not proof of any remarkable degree of virtue on their part. On worldly grounds, their profession is just the best one open to men of their scholarly tastes. Most of them have not had the means of going to the bar. The ablest of them would find it hard to make a living by literature. In reference to purely selfish considerations most of them could not have bettered themselves. But John Czerski is a man whose position is a proof of remarkable virtue. By devoting himself to the service of the church in which he was brought up, he might have ascended a splendid ladder of ecclesiastical ambition. The conventions of the priests where he lived would have sanctioned his living with many mistresses; a devotion to the interests of Rome would have opened higher and still higher offices for his acceptance, and with his years might have grown his honours, his wealth, renown, and power. Professing religious convictions as the reason of his conduct, John Czerski rejects the splendours which Rome holds forth to ecclesiastical ambition, and becomes the pastor of four congregations for a yearly stipend of twenty-two pounds odd. Mobbed by the populace, stoned by young ladies, shot at by grown men, his abduction attempted, his character slandered, his feelings lacerated, and a yearly income gained by him of five pound ten a quarter,—these are the rewards of John Czerski. This was the man who was coldly received in London by the religious circles, in August 1846. Strange is the suspicion of untried men, of the Christian virtue of a man who has been tried and found to be noble. John Czerski was criticised by excellent and well-beneficed clergymen for ‘vacillation.’ The parson in his serene rectory, with a steady income and a calm scene, is conscious of no vacillation.

‘Ye *clergymen* of England,  
Who live at home at ease,  
How little do ye know  
Of the dangers of the seas.’

The very lustre of their celebrity makes conspicuous all the incidents of the lives of distinguished men. The faults of obscure men are hidden by the obscurity of their lives. Such



were some of the considerations which sprung up in our mind on hearing of the reception of John Czerski in London.

We attended his public appearances in London with much interest. He is a slightly made man, of the middle height, with sallow plebeian features, dressed like a priest, with a round, broad, German head, a broad chin, a long upper lip, a short sharp nose, intelligent black eyes, and brown hair smoothed down the sides of a good forehead, with nervous sensibility and self-reliance displayed in the workings of his features. In age he appears to be between thirty and forty, but worn by study and anxiety. His look flashes conviction of his sincerity into the observer. His voice is sweet and earnest. His style and manner show a degree of culture considerably above the average of the clerical profession.

Of course, the private investigations which were made into the character, creed, and conduct of Czerski issued in his complete vindication. After being suspected unjustly, and treated accordingly, attempts were made to efface the impression on his feelings by breakfasts, meetings, and 'the right hand of fellowship.' But it is impossible to convince any one who saw Czerski on his first and on his last appearance in London, that the interval had not been filled up with much suffering, unwarrantably and needlessly inflicted. Of some of the leaders of the Evangelical Alliance this is true;—they did not protect a noble foreigner from pain, but they are understood to be zealous for getting a picture painted of themselves in solemn conclave!

‘Alas; for the rarity  
Of Christian charity.’

Czerski was the first to form a church separate from Rome in that part of Germany, which has been the scene of his labours and those of Rongé.

‘To Czerski,’ says the author of ‘the German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century,’ the modest, retiring man, to whose individual character every approach to leadership, or publicity, is foreign, belongs the merit, not only of having first entertained the idea of the formation of a Catholic church, independent of, and separate from, Rome; but of being the first, likewise, to carry this idea into practice. And this bold step brought what had long lain dark and inert in the wishes of thousands, at once to distinctive clearness; and the thought of their hearts took form and substance. In March, 1844, Czerski was appointed assistant to probst Busse, in Schneidemühl, whose failing health had induced him to apply for a co-pastor. And here he found many parishioners, whose thoughts and feelings coincided with his own. For, in beautiful illustration of the manner in which God so often prepares a people for himself in the midst of

their enemies, at the same time that he raiseth up suitable pastors to 'feed them with wisdom and knowledge,' very many individuals in Schneidemühl had been led to read the Bible, and hence to hunger and thirst for a purer milk of doctrine than their old probst could, or did dispense to them, but which they found in the zealous preaching of the young priest thus providentially sent to meet their wants and wishes. Pastor and people went on reading and learning from God's word; and the freedom with which Czerski, on all occasions, avowed his religious sentiments, rendered it impossible that this 'new thing in the land' could long remain hid from the satellites of Rome. Czerski was summoned to give account of his doctrine before an ecclesiastical tribunal. He, no less than his people, felt that they must now decide on submission, or separation. They chose the latter; and, after some intermediate ecclesiastical forms had been observed, excommunication was pronounced upon Czerski and all his adherents, whether present or future. This sentence deprived Czerski of his office, and threw him penniless upon the world. But this was the very fittest soil for the growth and prosperity of the divine seed. All whose hearts had previously felt with him, and many more, whose eyes were by this very proceeding opened to the uncompromising tyranny of Rome, rallied closely round the victim of papal denunciation; and with high-hearted courage, the little band dared to raise the banner of spiritual liberty in the face of Germany, and openly abjured the dark and degrading servitude of the Roman hierarchy. On the 27th of October, 1844, the new Apostolic Catholic church in Schneidemühl, sent in a written declaration of the step they had taken to the Prussian district government in Bromberg, and solicited its protection.'

The account which Czerski has given of his early life and spiritual struggles, will interest our readers.

'I was born of poor, but pious parents, in Werlubien, a small village in the neighbourhood of Neuenburg, where, until my thirteenth year, I attended the parish school, in which, however, I only learned to read Polish, and the first rudiments of arithmetic; but, having a great thirst for instruction, I was sent to the grammar-school in Bromberg, which after nine months' attendance, I exchanged for the gymnasium, or high school of Conitz, where I worked my way up to the highest class. And here, I cannot refrain from returning publicly my heartfelt thanks to the Conitz professors, for the cordial and conscientious manner in which they met my open and straight-forward disposition, aiming, as became able and honest men, to facilitate the free and unartificial development of my mind and character.

'After having maintained my place in the first class of the gymnasium for eighteenth months, I was received into the alumnat (or theological department) of the St. Mary's gymnasium in Posen, leaving it again after a residence of six months (with a testimonial to having completed the prescribed course), in order to enter the

episcopal seminary. There began for me a period of internal conflict and doubt. I studied theology with the utmost eagerness; but being unable to reconcile to my own mind various propounded dogmas, I compared them with the Bible. This raised, in some degree, the bandage from my eyes; I began to suspect that the pure light of the gospel had been dimmed and obscured by human interpretation: still, I did not see clearly; and these doubts led me into frequent argumentative collisions with my fellow collegians upon isolated articles of belief. Several works (among others, Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Tridentini*) were only conceded to my perusal with the greatest difficulty in the seminary; for the whole education of a priest must, as the hierarchy expresses it, be conducted in reference to the church; and that, as the clergy have the presumption to deem themselves the church, means neither more nor less, than that all must be conducted and judged of, with reference to the views and interests of a selfish hierarchy. In this view, the reading of the Bible is regulated; and, on the same principle, the perusal of many other excellent and enlightened books forbidden: in short, the clergy train the young priestly plant entirely to their own taste, and water it with water from the Tiber, in order to secure that the full-grown tree may bring forth only Roman fruit.

'But the bandage was soon to be wholly removed from my eyes; I was soon to see more clearly, and acknowledge more fully, that 'man should worship and serve God, and him only' (Matt. iv. 10). I was to 'behold the glory of God with unveiled face, and be led from one clear light to another, as by the Lord the Spirit' (2 Cor. iii. 18, Luther's translation), and learn at once to know and cast from me the code of lying papal laws which, twining itself round the consciences of men, precludes the exercise of moral freedom.

'I became vicar of the cathedral of Posen, and spent eighteen months in that capital of priestly rule. There my eyes were opened indeed, for I made in Posen the same discovery which Luther did long ago in Rome.

'I applied myself anew to the study of the Bible. I examined some books which had previously been prohibited to me; and I became convinced of what I had before suspected, that I was not serving God, but a human despotic power. I read John xiv. 6, 'I (that is, Christ) am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh to the Father but by me;' and 1 Tim. xi. 5, 'For there is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus;' and I asked myself, 'How can these texts be made to agree with the worship of saints, and even of inanimate things, as recently exhibited in the coat of Treves?'

'Again, I read in Matt. vii. 1, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged;' and I pondered, 'What then can entitle us to pass sentence in the confessional on the faults and frailties of men, we ourselves being weak and fallible creatures, who have all sinned and come short of the glory of God?' I found written in 1 Tim. iii. 2, 'A bishop must



be blameless, the husband of one wife ;' and in Cor. vii. 2, ' Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife ;' and lastly, I read, 1 Tim. iv. 1—6, and I could not help shuddering when I compared the lives of most priests with those words of Holy Writ, and thought on the weight and importance attached to the mere abstinence from meats, while real crimes were palliated or sanctioned ; for oh, how many and bitter are the tears which the senseless vow of celibacy has wrung from those who have become entangled in the snares of unprincipled priests ! And how shameless is the consolatory ambiguity by which the uneasy doubts of the young and ardent, as to their capability of steadfastly adhering to the law of chastity, are met ! '*Non unam habebis, sed mille pro una habebis*'\* ('thou shalt not have one wife but a thousand,' 'if not chaste be cautious') ; and whoso will dare to draw back with venturous hand the veil which guards the cell of the monk, or can obtain entrance to the secret chambers of the canting secularclergy, will find Venus enthroned there as chief goddess of their idolatry, and often desecrating even the confessional, which is but too frequently employed as a medium and a lure of pollution, to the purest and most innocent minds. But I searched further, and found written in 1 Cor. vii. 16, 'What knowest thou, oh wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband ?' I read also the 12th and 13th verses of the same chapter, and I asked myself, How can mortal man forbid marriage among Christians, though of different confessions ?—pp. 131—135.

In the conclusion of his 'Justification,' Czerski exhibits, with much power, the pith and spirit of his principles.

'I am in God's hand ; without whose permission not a sparrow can fall to the ground, not a hair of my head can perish. And, although I see a heavy conflict before me, yet, trusting in God and in the power of his truth, I hope to be strong enough to sacrifice earthly advantages in days to come, as I have done in days that are past. Threats and calumnies I despise ; and, despite the name of heretic, the excommunication, and the anathema, with which I shall be loaded, I will show myself zealous for the true, unadulterated doctrine of Christ, as it has taken possession of my mind ; and henceforth be no more a minister of the pope and his false doctrines, but of Almighty God only, and of his holy word. I rely upon God, on my right, and on my country. Hear my words, oh pope ! thou holy father ! No mortal man should claim to be called father in the sense you do ; for one is our father, even he who is in heaven. Hear it, pope, clergy, and people ; 'he that will be great among you, let him be your minister ;' and 'he that exalteth himself shall be abased ?' Hear it, pope ! hear it, ye clergy ? we are called to teach the word of God, but not the wretched inventions of man ; we ought to live in all sobriety and honesty, and should be temperate,

\* The German proverb is, 'Wenn nicht enthaltsam sey wachsam.'

given to hospitality, apt to teach ; but we should not live in unchastity and fornication ; we should not be given to wine, or be greedy of filthy lucre ; not strikers, but patient ; neither brawlers nor covetous (1 Tim. iii). Hear it, oh pope ! and ye Romish clergy : ye blind leaders of the blind ; I declare myself free from the banner of your unchristian hierarchy, that I may henceforth live and teach the pure gospel, such as Christ himself proclaimed it to the world. You will hurl your excommunication-thunderbolt at my head ; you may even prepare for me your burning faggots, and forge your chains, as of old ; but here I take my stand, and must abide whatever may befall me. May God be my helper ! Amen.'—pp. 139, 140.

A knowledge of the state of morals among the Romish priesthood of Germany, is necessary to enable British readers to understand what the conduct of Czerski really was, in reference to his marriage. Nearly all our contemporaries, who take a favourable view of Czerski, concur in calling his marriage an indiscretion. Now this it certainly was not, whatever it was, for we do not approve of the fashionable habit of calling sins indiscretions. Czerski's marriage was either a mistake, a sin, or a virtuous action. The facts, which are personally known to the author of 'the Reformation of the Nineteenth Century,' who is resident in the scene of the new movements, support the opinion that the marriage of Czerski was a virtuous action. By the tacit conventions of the priesthood in his neighbourhood, Czerski would have suffered no evil for keeping a succession of mistresses under the names of housekeepers, cousins, and nieces. Venus, he knew, was often the secret deity of the confessional. His priestly vows had not by any magical favour made him any more than any other man insensible to the great and terrible passion of love. He had long loved. No Roman priest would marry him—no Protestant clergyman dare marry him. With the legalities, technicalities, and conventionalities he could not be married. They were against him. He was their victim. The path of vice was open and safe to him. But he would not enter it by the degradation of the woman he loved from a holy to an obscene creature. To true love this is impossible. He was still a Romish priest. He had not yet wrought his courage up to the point of bursting through the circle of terror which kept him within the Roman Church. 'Out of this church there is no salvation,' was the axiom in which he had been born and bred. Czerski had not mustered courage to leave what he had once deemed the precincts of salvation. As yet he was not sure there was salvation any where else. Where is the wonder if, in these circumstances,

Czerski should perceive that though the legalities of marriage were denied him, the essentials were all in his power. It is better to marry, than to love without marrying. He could remove the degradations of secrecy, the infamies of falsehood, the demoralizations of concealment from his connection with his love, and accomplish, if not a marriage according to the German lawyers, a marriage in accordance with the holy ordinances of God. He did all that was possible for him. He called his friends and the relatives of his lady together, and before these witnesses (who are ready to attest the fact) the couple declared their purpose to live together. Ceremonies, prayers, exhortations, kneelings at altars, sacramental absurdities, and profanities, may be added to this affair to any amount, but they cannot add to what Czerski did, aught essential to a really virtuous marriage.

The vow of celibacy which Czerski had taken did, in the abstract, of course, bind him. But the obedience of vows, and the keeping of oaths are concrete affairs. Among his brethren the vow to take none, meant living with several, and therefore it was a step in advance of the morality in practice among his associates, for Czerski by a conscience marriage to become what a bishop ought to be—the husband of one wife.

The German correspondent of the *Continental Echo*, the author of the work before us, is well known to be a Christian gentlewoman, whose intelligence and worth have gained her the esteem of several most distinguished divines in this country. She resides in Czerski's neighbourhood, and her opinion of his marriage is exactly coincident with that we have ventured to express.

‘He entered the priestly office full of high and admiring thoughts of the purity and supernal sanctity of the priesthood; but, when initiated into the mysteries of the monkish cell and the priest's dwelling, he discovered those modern Pharisees to be truly depicted by the divine appellation of ‘whited sepulchres,’ which conceal all manner of loathsomeness and corruption. He shrank from, and abhorred this. He searched the Scriptures, and found in them no prohibition against marriage; but, on the contrary, an, at least, implied command; since, among the qualifications of a bishop, the apostle mentions being ‘the husband of one wife,’ and therefore, detesting concubinage, which was free to him, Czerski desired to marry, but found himself debarred from it by ecclesiastical law. He then resolved on contracting what has been termed a clandestine, or conscience marriage, with a young woman to whom he had become attached: and this he accordingly did, in the presence of respectable witnesses, summoned for the purpose, and who are still



living to attest the fact. For he imagined, that as no Protestant clergyman could, and no Romish priest would, perform the ceremony, he might thus retain his vicarage, and yet live morally in the sight of God. This act reached, of course, the ears of his superiors, who, although they would have winked at a mistress, revolted at the very semblance of a wife; and commanded Czerski to put away her whom he regarded and treated as his lawful wife. He refused, avowing his conviction of the Bible-lawfulness of marriage; and thus matters drew on, until his open renunciation of Rome, followed by episcopal excommunication, freed him from all the trammels and claims of ecclesiastical judicatories. He then hastened to obtain the legal sanction of a public ceremony for the marriage he had contracted, with all the binding solemnities practicable in his peculiar position.'—pp. 141, 142.

Czerski has been accused of avarice. This is a strange accusation to be brought against a man who gave up a certain for a precarious income. With a wife and family to keep, he supports his widowed mother and younger brother, in his house, and has had to assist one of his brothers who has lost a lucrative situation in the Romish church for giving him a night's lodging. When visiting infant churches he has often to pay his own travelling expenses, and has had to assign a portion of his scanty salary to an assistant preacher who officiates in his absence. His salary is £22 10s. per annum. It may be well credited that the expenditure of a man, in such circumstances, must be limited to the barest necessities.

But we must allow the following facts to speak for themselves.

'In the midst of these trials from without and within, Czerski is content to labour and live for the gospel, neither courting nor fearing publicity, and willingly copying the apostolic model, in journeyings often, in perils by his own countrymen (aye, and countrywomen too, since young ladies were actually *bound over to keep the peace*, in consequence of having pelted him with stones in Posen, at the time of the formation of an apostolic Catholic church there). He is in weariness often, in cold and nakedness; besides that which cometh on him daily, the care of all those churches which adopt a scriptural symbol, and towards whom, even out of his deep poverty, he manifests the riches of his liberality, so that we have heard of his sending the (for him) large sum of fifty dollars, the third of his income, to assist a poor congregation of apostolic Catholics at Grandentz. But a still nobler and more convincing evidence of Czerski's superiority to all mercenary motives, as well as of his deep sincerity in abjuring Rome, will be found in the following indisputable fact. A Polish lady of rank and fortune, having been led to believe that motives of temporal interest had induced Czerski's secession from the Roman

communion, offered him by letter a certain provision for life, not only for himself, but for all his family, if he would re-enter the church, even though he could not its priesthood. Czerski's reply to this very generous, though mistaken offer, is interesting; and we would gladly transfer it to our pages, were they not preoccupied. We must therefore content ourselves with the following reference to the point now under notice :—

“In your letter to me, you state your willingness, in the event of my returning to the Romish church, to secure to me, my wife, and my whole family, a sufficient income for life; but I repeat, that earthly possessions can have no value in the eyes of a true Christian. I attach little importance to them; were it, indeed, otherwise, I might have had ample opportunities of gathering wealth in the church of Rome. Neither did I enter the marriage state for mere sensual gratification; but rather to show the world my conviction, that marriage is a divinely-appointed ordinance, and free to all who desire to enter its pale; from which, therefore, no earthly power is competent to exclude any individual or class of mankind. Had, on the contrary, sensual gratification been my object, neither means nor opportunities (as probably you are well aware) would have been wanting to me, as a Roman Catholic priest; and hence the prevalent immorality of the Roman clergy. A desire to live morally induced me to take a wife, with whom I now live happily, and hope to do so to the end of life; and I appeal to apostolic authority as my warrant. 1 Tim. iii. 2.”—pp. 143—145.

Generous as the offer of this lady was, Czersky requites it with a desire equally generous—to bring her to the truth.

Czerski's differences with Rongé were first made apparent at the Leipsic conference. A fear of strangling this infant cause, however, prevented him from manifesting his opposition very conspicuously to the skeleton model set up at Leipsic.

There is a curious feature of calumny exhibited in the charge of rationalism brought in London against Czerski. Calumnies are frequently just the opposite of the truth. The desire of the calumniator is to hurt his victim, and therefore he says in each quarter the thing which will do it. The German rationalists, because he has opposed them, accuse him of superstitious ceremonies in worship, and credulous fanaticism in faith. These are the accusations likely to injure him among the followers of Rongé, the things which excite the contempt of the friends of light. Thus is Czerski hurt in Germany among the most numerous party who have revolted from Rome to philosophy. In London the accusation through which he could be hurt was not evangelism but rationalism. He was therefore accused of infidelity, and the man who had suffered for declaring the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, whose testimony in favour of evangelism had cost him more pain than his protest against Roman-

ism, was kept aloof, suspected and denounced, for not doing the chief and particular thing which he had done. There is a foolish habit of laughing at the influence of the Jesuits in this country, as if it were a bugaboo, and it is known to be by those possessed of the widest and closest knowledge of affairs and of society, one of the most powerful influences of the time. Had the society of Jesuits pre-arranged the reception of Czerski, they could not have managed it better than was done for them by persons called Protestants.

The philosophical spirit is weakening Romanism in Germany and strengthening it in England. Rongé seems to be a priest who has become a transcendentalist. From every account of him we have heard, he seems to be a fine noble dashing fellow, with a bright intellect, a brave spirit, an eloquent tongue; and a handsome man to boot, with long black curling locks. He is the popular hero of a revolt from Rome. His creed or theory, so far as he has one, is a mixture of German philosophy and neology. Whether in its German or its English dress, this system is nothing else but the old doctrine of salvation by works; Czerski happily calls it Phariseism. It prides itself on being a sort of Christianity without dogmas or mysteries. The followers of it think they have combined the clearness of philosophy with the elevation of Christian morality. This system, as an interpretation of Christianity, is most shallow and exceedingly unreasonable. Transcendentalism, Rationalism, Pharisaism, is a theory constructed by giving the go-by to kernel truths, with respect to man, Christ, and God. Sandblind, with reference to the most conspicuous facts about God, man, and salvation, must the theorists be who dream for a second that salvation can be by the heroism of man and not by the grace of God. To these philosophers Christianity is not a system of salvation from sin! They extinguish the soul, they pluck out the heart of Christianity, and then amuse themselves with the scientific anatomy of the corpse. If a galvanic motion appears, they call it vitality. As a reasonable philosophy this theory is weak and poor. In England it makes no pretension to be an induction from the Bible. In recording our disapprobation of the treatment of Czerski, in London, we are trying to strengthen the hands of a man whose position and function is one of the greatest importance to the interests of spiritual truth.

The philosophical spirit we have said strengthens Romanism in England and weakens it in Germany. '*That, or nothing,*' cried a lady, a recent convert from Protestantism, because she could see no choice left for her between the luxurious credulity of Romanism and the materialistic despair of infidelity. Mr. Ward could see no argument against Roman doctrine which did



not equally uproot Theism itself. Romanism has been persecuted in Ireland, and therefore philosophical statesmanship would endow it as a measure of justice to the persecuted.

But in Germany, Romanism is in the ascendant, sending hundreds of thousands to Treves to adore a holy coat; corrupting thousands of homes by means of the confessional and a celibate clergy; and pouring streams of misery into millions of hearts by vilest bigotries about marriage. Hence the Rongean revolt against it. In England, philosophic politicians, having no practical knowledge of Romanism, help it. In Germany, philosophic students know Romanism to their cost, and therefore detest and denounce it.

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### Brief Notices.

*The Life of Wesley ; and Rise and Progress of Methodism.* By Robert Southey, Esq., L.L.D. Third Edition, with Notes by the late S. T. Coleridge, Esq. *And Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley.* By the late Alexander Knox, Esq. Edited by the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, M.A. Two volumes 8vo. Longman and Co.

It is not necessary that we should reiterate our judgment on Dr. Southey's 'Life of Wesley'; it is already on record, and we see no reason to discard or modify it. The book is a very readable book,—full of interest, sometimes painfully so, as illustrating the position from which the writer viewed the objects described. We have always held that the biographer was utterly incompetent to understand, much more to describe, the hero. He did not and could not know the man whom he undertook to delineate, while powerful prejudices affected his judgment, and induced exaggerated or false views of many parts of his procedure. Southey was a literary man of a certain order of religious sentiment, but he was utterly unequal to this subject. He was ignorant of the rules applicable to it, and deemed fanatical and ambitious what was wrought by the powerful operation of religious principle. But enough of this. We must content ourselves with pointing out the peculiarities of the present edition. In the first place, then, it contains a considerable number of notes by the late Mr. Coleridge, many of which are exceedingly interesting, and some, as a matter of course, are expressed in a metaphysical jargon formed apparently for the express purpose of concealing the writer's meaning. These notes are introduced by a sort of dedication to Southey, in which the reader will probably be surprised to learn, that 'The Life of Wesley' is associated with that of Richard Baxter, to one or other of which, Coleridge tells his

friend, 'I was used to resort whenever sickness and langour made me feel the want of an old friend, of whose company I could never be tired.' Candour suggests, and we would fain rest therein, that the element common to both, in which the annotatist found pleasure, was the deep, earnest, spiritual yearning, by which the Nonconformist and the Methodist were alike distinguished. Of the 'Notes' we can only give the following example. 'This sentence' (that the evils brought on the nation by puritanism were remembered against Wesley) 'will, I doubt not, be *savoury* enough to Messrs. —, &c.; but there are readers who love and admire Robert Southey more than the above-named gentry have head or heart to do, who would have been glad to have been informed by Southey what these *evils* were. Even the Tory Stewartite and miso-fanatic Hume has found himself compelled, by truth of history, to reply. Our present political liberty is the direct consequence of this puritanism and religious toleration, indirectly. The eight or nine years suspension of the hierarchy and of the privileged aristocracy by hereditary senatorship, with the, alas! too brief substitution of a hero for an imbecile, would-be despot, was the effect of the crash of collision of two extremes, viz., the prelatic prerogative party and the puritan parliamentary. Why attribute these evils to the latter exclusively?'

Mr. Knox's 'Remarks,' extending to upwards of one hundred and forty pages, are distinguished by a clear appreciation of Wesley's distinctive excellences, and a cordial tribute to his worth. They will be read with pleasure by every intelligent and candid man, whatever view may be entertained on ecclesiastical points, and must greatly modify the impression made by the biographer. Mr. Knox was a Church-of-England man, and as such disapproved of the irregularity of some of Wesley's proceedings; 'Still, however,' he deliberately says, and with this we must close our already too extended notice, 'I must declare, that the slightest suspicion of pride, ambition, selfishness, in any shape or form, or personal gratification of whatever kind, stimulating Mr. Wesley in any instance, or mixing in any measure with the movements of his life, never once entered into my mind. That such charges were made by his opponents, I could not be ignorant; but my deep impression was, and it certainly remains unimpaired, that since the days of the Apostles there has not been a human being more thoroughly exempt from all *those* frailties of human nature than John Wesley.'

We will only add, that this edition is printed in very handsome style, and that, with the 'Notes' and 'Remarks' now supplied, Southey's 'Life of Wesley' may become as useful as it has always been an interesting piece of biography.

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*The Monthly Prize Essays.* Vol. I. (Nos. 1—3). Madden, Leadenhall-street.

WE marked with interest the first announcement of this novel undertaking, and have watched its progress with solicitude. It is founded

upon a new application of the prize principle. The proprietor, or 'director,' as he designates himself, assuming that nearly every existing periodical had formed its corps of regular contributors, among whom it might be difficult for young aspirants to find a place, conceived the idea of starting a magazine which might be so conducted as to afford every one a chance. With a view, therefore, to elicit hidden talent, he originated the 'Monthly Prize Essays,' in each number of which there is a chance of obtaining a prize of £20, £15, or £10, for a prose article of from twelve to twenty-four pages, besides three inferior chances of £5 each. It is wisely provided that the candidates are left to choose their own themes, and the mode of handling them; the director reserving to himself the right to determine whether the contributions deserve to be chosen in respect to all points of matter and execution. It might be supposed from the nature of this plan that the contributors would be chiefly juvenile. The contents of the numbers before us effectually dissipate this delusion. They contain several papers, which, to say nothing of mere writing ability, display a degree of erudition incompatible with the supposition of youth in the authors. 'Historic Doubts,' and 'Innocent the Third and his Era,' can be the results only of ripe scholarship and matured ideas. Perhaps it might with greater plausibility have been imagined that the contents of a periodical, collected in such a manner, would be heterogeneously miscellaneous and incoherent. On reflection, however, there will be found no reason that this should be the case to a greater extent than in any magazine conducted in the ordinary way. Who perceives such a system in Blackwood, Frazer, or Tait? It is obvious that a great deal depends upon the skill and judgment of the director, from the tone of whose able and interesting monthly 'Reports' on all the essays he receives, we augur that he will gradually reduce his apparently fortuitous materials into as congruous and coherent masses as the very best of us. He evidently has a plan, and that plan we easily gather from the tenour of his strictures on various papers which he has rejected, some from want of fitness rather than of ability, he will by degrees work out. Neither must it be concluded, that, in the 'Monthly Prize Essays,' we are put off with *the best of the bad*. We have not lighted upon one paper which does not possess considerable merit, while several evince a high degree of talent. We observe, moreover, in the third number, a growing adaptation of the essays to the prevailing current of public thought and inquiry. And then, we fancy,—there is no precise authority for the notion; but, we fancy, that the director would rather intermit a month than fill a number with unworthy contributions. Of this, however, we should hope there is no danger. He has displayed a commendable degree of public spirit, and we hope his liberality will be estimated, as it deserves to be by literary men, and by the reading public.

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*Glendearg Cottage. A Tale, concerning Church Principles.* By Miss Christmas. With a Preface, by the Rev. Henry Christmas, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THIS is a tale of conversions from dissent to the Church of England. Conversions in tales are of course effected in the most approved manner, and on the best principles. Miss Christmas writes in an easy and agreeable style. Her story has but little incident. Its main feature is dialogue, which is a capital vehicle for party purposes, but as generally conducted, and, we are sorry to add, as conducted by herself, a poor medium of truth. Among other things, Miss Christmas would commend the principle of 'never denying justice to an opponent,' by showing how a departure from it in the case of dissenters led to a favourable consideration of church arguments. We highly approve the principle in all sects, and regret that we cannot altogether acquit Miss Christmas of forgetting it.

*The Elevation of the People, Moral, Instructional, and Social.* By the Rev. Thomas Milner, M.A. pp. 456. London: John Snow. 1846.

THIS is one of a large class of works whose appearance must afford sincere and heartfelt pleasure to the true philanthropist. The interest which is now taken in the physical and moral improvement of the people is a pleasing and encouraging feature of our times. None who understand the subject will fear lest that interest should become excessive, but will rather rejoice in every effort to deepen and extend it. 'The half has not been told.' Dreading, as we do, government interference (and herein we sometimes differ from Mr. Milner), on many subjects affecting the welfare of the working classes, we therefore perceive a stronger claim upon the principles of social charity and justice.

Mr. Milner has made a contribution of no mean worth to the public good. His handsome volume contains a large mass of statistical information and important principles. Let it not, however, be supposed that the work is dry and uninteresting, except to the man who already takes an interest in its facts and doctrines. It is written in a vivacious and lively style, and touches upon a great variety of topics not of necessity suggested by its title. A reference to its chapters will prepare our readers to expect this:—'A Glance at by-gone Times'—'Modern Aims at National Elevation'—'The Last Census'—'Home Aspects'—'The Certain and the Possible'—'Instruction for the Masses'—'Industrial Discipline'—'Methods of Instruction'—'Provision of Instruction'—'A National Experiment'—'The Strife for Life'—'Morality of Dens and Wigwams'—'The Public Health'—'Social Improvements.'

We trust the work will have a wide circulation. It cannot fail to promote the best results in proportion as its deeply affecting facts and valuable suggestions are 'read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested.'

*The Lord's Supper.* By the Rev. David King, LL.D. Glasgow. pp. 300. Edinburgh: John Johnston, 1846.

THIS is a very valuable work for general readers. It is clear, comprehensive, and catholic. Avoiding intentionally a 'scientific distribution of topics,' there are few questions connected with the Lord's supper which are not more or less noticed, and few bearings of it which are not pointed out. The chapters are:—I. The Passover. II. The Supper instituted by Christ while observing the Passover. III. Probable Reasons for instituting the Supper at that particular Time. IV. The Lord's Supper illustrative of the Scheme of Salvation. V. The Lord's Supper a Commemorative Institution. VI. The Lord's Supper a Medium of Fellowship. VII. The Lord's Supper a Seal of the Covenant. VIII. The Lord's Supper in relation to Futurity. While this wise and gracious appointment is the subject of such various and severe controversy, Dr. King has done well in developing its real nature and enforcing its practical relations. It is needless to add, that the matter is sound and judicious, the language elegant and forcible, and the temper earnest and devout.

1. *History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Printed by arrangement with Messrs. Oliver and Boyd. Vol. IV.

2. *Discourses and Essays.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D., with an Introduction, by Robert Baird, D.D.

3. *The Christian Philosopher; or, the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion.* Illustrated with Engravings. By Thomas Dick, LL.D. Vol. I. Glasgow: W. Collins.

OF the first of these works we need merely say, that it is printed from the author's own edition, and is designed to complete Mr. Collins's three volumes previously issued. It is published at the almost incredibly low price of one shilling and sixpence, and fairly brings the story of the reformation within the means of the whole reading population of the empire. We appreciate the promptitude with which Mr. Collins has purchased the right to avail himself of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd's copyright, and strongly recommend his edition to all Sunday-school teachers and other young persons.

The Discourses and Essays contained in the second volume possess, to use the strong but appropriate language of Dr. Baird, 'one grand characteristic, that of a glorious baptism, if I may so express myself, into the spirit of the Reformation.' They are worthy of their author, and will not injure his fame. A few of them have previously been translated; but the greater number are now, for the first time, given to the public.

This volume, together with the 'Christian Philosopher,' belongs to the same cheap series as the former, and does great credit to the enterprize and skill of the publisher. It has been considerably enlarged, and has undergone a thorough revision, so as to embrace the latest improvements and discoveries in the several branches of the subjects treated. When such works are purchaseable by all, what may we not look for in the way of popular information?

*The History of Civilization, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution.* By F. Guizot. Vols. II. and III. London: D. Bogue.

MR. BOGUE has promptly fulfilled his engagement with the public, by completing his edition of M. Guizot's work. The present volumes bring down the history to the most eventful occurrences of modern times, and its whole course is illumined by a genius always attractive, if not universally sound in its philosophy. Few French writers possess a wider fame than M. Guizot, and it is therefore somewhat marvellous that the present work has not previously been translated. Such, however, is the fact, and it goes far to make out a case for such a series as *The European Library*. Let the publisher continue in the course hitherto pursued, and it will be the lasting disgrace of our age, if the Library do not obtain so large a circulation as shall render it as remunerative to himself, as it will prove advantageous to the public. Who, till very recently, would have ventured to expect to purchase such a work as *The History of Civilization* for half a guinea?

*The Treatise of John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the Priesthood.* Translated by Edward Garrard Marsh, M. A., Canon of Southwell. pp. 234. Seeley.

CHRYSOSTOM on the Priesthood is a work well known to scholars, and held in great esteem for its practical worth. We agree with Mr. Marsh that the value of the work consists in its mode of presenting 'the spirit, in which the holy office of the ministry ought to be undertaken, and the manner in which it ought to be discharged'—for doubtless it contains some sorrowful indications of that fatal heresy, which, when it was written, had begun 'already to work,' and some unwise and extravagant modes of illustrating important truths which are always to be rebuked, and especially in the present day. Excepting these things, in which, after all, Chrysostom was not the greatest offender of his day, the work deserves the commendation of Burnet. 'Every reading will afford a fresh pleasure, and matter of instruction and meditation.'

Mr. Marsh has added to the value of his translation, which appears to be well executed, by giving notes, in which he has 'endeavoured to bring the leading sentiments of this memorable treatise to the tribunal of holy Scripture.' One remark will serve as a key to the spirit and character of these comments, as it is on a point which as much as any affects the controversy between the real papist and the real protestant in all churches:—'Chrysostom has adopted the levitical title, priesthood, *ιερωσύνη*, in preference to the evangelical word, presbytership, from which the English word, priest, is a contraction. The words in the original are perfectly distinct, and cannot be mistaken or confounded. This preference accordingly is an indication of a prevailing disposition in that age unduly to magnify the ministerial office by borrowing the terms, and investing it with all the peculiarities of the Levitical priesthood.'



*On the Speculative Difficulties of Professing Christians.* Pp. 87. William Blackwood and Sons, 1846.

THE design of these 'Letters' is to meet the case of those persons who, while possessing a general belief in revelation, are disturbed and injured by 'specific sceptical objections.' It is admirably suited to this class, which, we are afraid, is a large one. Without committing ourselves to every sentiment, we have great pleasure in expressing a very high opinion of its worth. It is obviously written by an intelligent and well-informed person. It has the calm spirit of reason. Facts, arguments, and discriminating observations abound in it. We utter no mean praise when we say, that it is worthy to be the companion to Whateley's 'Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidences.'

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*The Godly Sayings of the Ancient Fathers upon the Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.* Edited by the Rev. C. I. Daniell, M.A., late Curate of South Hackney. Pp. 153. London: Rivingtons, 1846.

THIS treatise was written by M. Veron, 'a learned Frenchman, one of the eminentist preachers of his time, who died in 1563. It is printed with his own antique spelling, and quaint expressions.' It is beautifully got up.

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*The Merits of Calvin as an Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures.* Translated from the German of Professor Tholuck, of Halle, by Professor Woods of Andover. To which are added, *Opinions and Testimonies of Foreign and British Divines and Scholars as to the Value and Importance of the Writings of John Calvin.* With a Preface by the Rev. William Pringle. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1845.

A WELL-EXECUTED tribute to Calvin's high claims as an interpreter of the Scriptures.

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*A Century of Scottish Church History: an Historical Sketch of the Church of Scotland, from the Secession to the Disruption. With an Account of the Free Church.* By the Rev. James Dobbs. Pp. 98. Edinburgh: John Johnstone.

ONE of the objects of this little work is to 'present a plea for the Free Church of Scotland, not in a controversial, but in a simply historical form.' The chapters are entitled:—I. Progress and Policy of Moderation. II. Ascendancy of Evangelism—The Disruption. III. The Free Church. It is clearly written, with a little pardonable boasting, and well suited to convey a considerable amount of information on the facts and principles which it presents to view.

*Calvin and Servetus : The Reformer's share in the Trial of Michael Servetus Historically Ascertained. From the French, with Notes and Additions.* By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. Pp. 245. Edinburgh : John Johnstone.

SELDOM has one act of a man occupied so important a place in history and controversy as the part taken by Calvin in the proceedings which ended in the death of Servetus. It has been a standing reproach with those who dislike the reformer's ecclesiastical and theological principles. The present volume, which is a translation of the work of M. A. Rilliet, of Geneva,\* with the addition of some notes, and a sketch of Calvin's life, by the translator, contains as much as is likely ever to be known on the subject. It supplies important information which was never before published. We do not hesitate to say, that the whole places Calvin's conduct in as favourable a light as his friends had any right to expect. He was not the dark bloody-minded persecutor which he has been often represented. The fate of Servetus is doubtless to be pitied, and the act of putting him to death is to be condemned, but Calvin only believed and acted, in the matter, in accordance with the prevailing principles and practices of the times. Political considerations and duties were largely mixed up in the affair, and Calvin's immediate connection with the death of Servetus was very different from that for which he had credit. The work deserves to be read by all lovers of truth and justice, and, whatever may be its own circulation as a book, it is cheering to think that the facts it discloses will be sure to work their way into history, which is seldom unfair in the end.

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